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POETRY AND PIETY:

THE ROLE OF VERSE IN MID-VICTORIAN SUNDAY READING

by

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ABSTRACT

Mid-Victorian poetry of piety is verse concerned to propagate and sustain simple faith in an age frequently characterised by doubt. The proliferation of 'Sunday verse' may itself be a response to doubt. Section I (Chapters 1-2) establishes the verse's context, and its role within the respectable occupation of Sunday reading.

The primary material examined in Section II (Chapters 3-6) establishes the value Victorian writers placed on verse as a means of religious communication. Dependence on the common cultural heritage of the Bible broadened the verse's appeal, especially through cheaply available hymns and periodicals (Chapters 4 and 5).

Pious verse is seen as a didactic tool, frequently consolatory, a means of imaginatively exploring difficult concepts in a manner accessible to the emotions. The developing readership for Sunday verse originates in children's reading (Chapter 6), which stresses social and moral training.

Section III (Chapters 7-9) shows the influence of pious verse on a young reader, Marianne Farningham (Chapter 7). From humble origins, Farningham became self-supporting by her writing, showing how women could gain some independence in this sphere. A broader survey of women's writing (Chapter 8 - principally A.L. Waring, Charlotte Elliott and F.R. Havergal), reveals a strong affinity between women and pious verse, with its social and sexual stereotyping. Characteristic aspects of language are more fully explored in Chapter 9. Essential simplicity is related to the argument that language is inadequate to communicate the divine, actively encouraging the less educated as readers and writers of Sunday verse, which thus has a wider readership than other types of verse. In conclusion, pious verse is seen as an egalitarian genre, assisting literacy, supporting respectability and countering doubt. It is a valuable resource for the study of Victorian culture.

The thesis is supported by a listing of periodicals publishing pious verse, 1850-1875 (Appendix A); work towards an annotated bibliography of pious verse, 1851-1860 (Appendix B); an analysis of pious verse in the marketplace (Appendix C). Together these demonstrate the widespread availability and commercial viability of Sunday verse.

CONTENTS

	Page
Acknowledgements	i
Abbreviations	ii
<i>I: INTRODUCTORY</i>	
Introduction	1
Chapter 1: The Background - Literature and Religion 1850-1875	13
Chapter 2: The Victorian Sunday and Sunday Reading	27
<i>II: THE READING - A SURVEY</i>	
Chapter 3: Sunday Verse - Characteristics and Types	51
Chapter 4: Hymns	83
Chapter 5: Sunday Verse in Periodicals	102
Chapter 6: Sunday Verse for Children	132
<i>III: A WOMAN'S WORLD</i>	
Chapter 7: Reader to Writer - Marianne Farningham	155
Chapter 8: Domestic Piety	185
<i>IV: PIETY AND POETRY</i>	
Chapter 9: Language and Imagery	212
Conclusion	246
<i>V: APPENDICES</i>	
Appendix A: Periodicals Publishing Religious Verse 1850-75	254
Appendix B: Religious Verse 1851-60 - An Annotated Bibliography	283
Appendix C: Piety in the Marketplace - Facts and Figures	394
<i>VI: BIBLIOGRAPHY</i>	
1. Primary material (a) Unprinted	418
(b) Printed	418
2. Secondary Material	422
<i>VII: INDEX</i>	
Index of names and titles in main text and Appendix C	437

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Appendix A has been published in the Book Trade History Group Newsletter, October 1991.

ABBREVIATIONS

BL	British Library
CUL	Cambridge University Library
Elias	Elias Collection of Hymnology, Westminster College, Cambridge
Julian	John Julian, <u>Dictionary of Hymnology</u> (1892, rev.1907)
<u>RES</u>	<u>Review of English Studies</u>
RTS	Religious Tract Society
Sedgwick	Daniel Sedgwick, <u>Comprehensive Index of Names of Original Authors of Hymns</u> , second edition (1863)
SSU	Sunday School Union

I : INTRODUCTORY

INTRODUCTION

Sunday books, closely linked with the Sabbath and its devout routines, figure significantly in mid-Victorian publishing, and pious verse was a frequent element in such publications. This study argues that the poetry of piety constituted a significant influence on the developing democratization of literature in this period. This 'Sunday verse' also offered a unifying influence in the harmony it sought to encourage, whilst paradoxically representing the divisions of the society from which it issued. These divisions were both social and religious, incorporating distinctions of class, gender and sect. However, a desire for unity was evident in the unsectarian emphasis of much of the writing, and its emphasis on common Christian principles. The consolatory nature of much of this verse - it was written and read with such intention - determined a predominantly reassuring tone.

Although it is common to find assertions such as W.H. Houghton's, that 'Christian faith was characteristic of the frame of mind' of the Victorians, who 'instinctively looked for the hand of God in the events of life',¹ there is surprisingly little documentation of the literature of faith, especially as it touched the lives of ordinary people. This study endeavours to provide such documentation.

The poetry of piety was one element in the considerable volume of Sunday reading. This reading provided a legitimate, respectable occupation for the hours of potential idleness,² and in spite of the devotional bias of this material, some Victorians seemed to view it, at least in part, as a distraction from the potential boredom of Sundays. Sunday verse will be shown to have a specific role within Sunday reading (see Chapter 2). The range and amount of Sunday verse published in separate volumes from 1851-60, and in periodicals from

1850-1875, as detailed and analysed in the Appendices, give evidence of its significance in the published output of the period.

G.B. Tennyson has been one of the few modern critics to acknowledge the significance of the poetry of piety, although his study, Victorian Devotional Poetry (1981), concentrates on only one group of pious writers, the Tractarian poets. He asserts in this work that 'if Tractarian poetry is minor as poetry, it is major as an indicator of a sensibility and an ethos that help define the Victorian age'.³ The mid-Victorians had a decided taste for pious verse - to the extent of producing approximately 850 publications in a decade. Appendix B details these publications. This listing is very unlikely to include all such publications of the period; it is, however, an indication of the quantity of pious verse in book form. We should add to this the considerable amount of such verse in the periodicals. This evidence should not be ignored, especially when many collections of verse were popular enough to be frequently reprinted. It may well be that the very flood of this 'torrentially abundant' material, as Fairchild termed it,⁴ has proved intimidating; it is obviously much easier to write about selected figures, which usually means those writers who are more successful or dominant in their field.

It is equally likely that the essentially unsophisticated nature of much of this writing puts it outside the sphere of the traditional literary critic. Although such poets as Herbert and Tennyson figure in these pages in the context of Sunday reading, it is by virtue of the pious content, rather than the skilled execution, of their poems.

Verse was seen as a particularly suitable and readily accessible means of communicating the transcendent, and consequently Sunday verse reached a reasonably wide cross-section of the population, from servants to nobility.⁵ Verse that predominantly affirms faith, and

a faith rooted in the Bible, may well be of diminished interest to today's readers, many of whom would find such faith untenable. Francis William Newman (brother of John Henry Newman) illustrates the changing attitude towards the Bible during the Victorian period, a shift which has hardened into disregard of the Bible as sacred text in our own century. In his Phases of Faith (1850), Newman analysed his changing beliefs, moving from a schoolboy's 'unhesitating unconditional acceptance of whatever was found in the Bible', to the young man 'theoretically convinced, that the contents of the Scriptures, rightly interpreted, were supreme and perfect truth', to the later conviction that led him to abandon totally 'the claims of "the Canon" of Scripture, however curtailed, to be received as the object of faith, as free from error'.⁶ Few readers today would be able to chart such a progress, simply because few have experienced the Bible as sacred text.

There is also the influential view of Dr Johnson, which has no doubt carried weight with later critics, that 'contemplative piety, or the intercourse between God and the human soul, cannot be poetical,' because the topic of devotion can 'receive no grace from novelty of sentiment, and very little from novelty of expression.' Johnson's argument, puritanical in tone, develops further the point about the nature of expression appropriate to religious verse:

Faith, invariably uniform, cannot be invested by fancy with decorations. Thanksgiving, the most joyful of all holy effusions, yet addressed to a Being without passions, is confined to a few modes, and is to be felt rather than expressed ...

Of sentiments purely religious it will be found that the most simple expression is the most sublime. Poetry loses its lustre and its power, because it is applied to the decoration of something more excellent than itself ... The ideas of Christian Theology are too simple for eloquence, too sacred for fiction, and too majestick for ornament; to recommend them by tropes and figures, is to magnify by a concave mirror the sidereal hemisphere.⁷

There is a strong puritanical strain in much religious verse, certainly sustained in the Victorian period, requiring verse to be free from unnecessary embellishments, characterized by what C.S. Lewis termed 'humble sobriety'.⁸ This was the aim of Thomas Davis, as stated in his preface to Devotional Verse for a Month (1855):

Even the decorative trope and figure, that are not of the most simple and natural (if we may not say obvious) character, are, in verse of this order, not only not to be sought, but to be carefully avoided. They would positively offend a correct taste in metrical addresses to the Almighty.

It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that such an approach as Davis's was the only one, or, indeed, that economy and directness necessarily prohibited a literary handling of the material. Johnson was sounding a new note of doubt in relation to critical attitudes towards religious verse. From the mediaeval lyricists to the eighteenth century hymn writers, earlier generations had found no such difficulty in equating poetry with devotional subject matter. John Keble was to take issue with Johnson over his attitude to devotional verse (see Chapter 3, p.58), but many later critics of religious verse have followed Johnson's lead, such as Donald Davie in his introduction to The New Oxford Book of Christian Verse (Oxford, 1981) with his emphasis on 'plain style' (see Chapter 9, p.226).

Influential though Johnson has been, Victorian writers seldom saw such problems in relation to religious verse. They were more inclined to the earlier eighteenth century view, as expressed by John Dennis, that religion was a necessary adjunct of poetry, 'absolutely necessary to raise it to the greatest exaltation, of which so Noble an Art is capable.' Similarly, Dennis viewed poetry as 'requisite to Religion in order to its making more forcible Impressions upon the Minds of

Men'.⁹

A further debt to eighteenth century thought is seen in the recurrent influence of natural theology on pious verse, with its frequent emphasis on the created world as proof of God's benevolence. John Keble, in a letter of 1857 to C.F. Alexander, on the publication of her Poems on Subjects in the Old Testament (London, 1857), praised the work for 'the sort of way it joins nature and the Bible together, and helps one to do the same.'¹⁰ Alexander was certainly not alone in such an exercise.

There were also Victorian religious versifiers who enjoyed using typology, image and symbol, and saw no impediment to devotion in such decorations. Matthew Bridges, an Anglican convert to Catholicism, demonstrated this fact in 'Anima Christi':

Blood of Jesus, - crimson sea!
Glorious as eternity!
Fathomless - alone - sublime,
Boundless Bath of human crime:
Me the leper, vile and mean,
Plunge me there and make me clean!

Water - from that sacred side
Of a God, who groan'd and died, -
Blending with the purple gore
When his agony was o'er;
Flow in mercy, full and free,
Flow for sinners, flow for me. ¹¹

Most of the literary critic's arguments against religious verse as of great aesthetic interest revolve around the issue of its simple predictability and sameness. Characteristic aspects of the language of pious verse are taken up more fully in Chapter 9. With or without figurative embellishments, Sunday verse was essentially accessible writing, with a wide readership that included children. Indeed, the verse produced for young readers can be characterized as the most typical Sunday verse, in its simple, overt moralising and direct

statement of Christian belief. In later life, it appears that adult readers with such a grounding could more readily accept verse as a tool of interpretation and source of emotional and imaginative stimulus. Marianne Farningham's life and work (see Chapter 7) give support to this view.

It was the insistent claim of editors and poets throughout the period under review that children would readily remember verse, especially hymns; that they held thereby a body of reassuring knowledge and source of inspiration to take them into adult life: 'such a collection as may not only prove interesting and instructive to young persons, but will also be valued by them in after-life.'¹² In other words, the verse in part sustained the truth that adults wished to propagate. Reasons for propagating such truth may have varied. Truth-telling can be viewed as a defensive reaction, seeing Christian truth under threat. An element of social control may be detected in the awareness of those who saw that simple faith will follow 'the truth', and good behaviour leads to a stable society. Most obviously, the promotion of the truth was undertaken for entirely sincere reasons, a wish to pass on that which was deemed to be of value. Such an explanation is borne out by the devout and sincere tones of the majority of volumes in question. However, as tends to happen with over-emphasis, the reader is sometimes left wondering. Is the note of urgency simply that of crusading zeal? Could such insistence be read as anything other than evangelical fervour, the missionary spirit? Perhaps not. But there are sometimes ambivalences in this verse that suggest these protestations may be evidence of underlying anxiety. This may even be unconscious in the individual, who wishes to perpetuate a set of beliefs held to be of value. For example, J.C. Ryle, editor of Hymns for the Church on Earth, stated 'I

hold strongly, that holy thoughts often abide for ever in men's memories under the form of poetry, which pass away and are forgotten under the form of prose.'¹³ Most commonly such assertions come in collections for children, and for an adult to make Ryle's claim it would be reasonable to assume that he has recognized this process from his own experiences or observations of childhood. The interesting point here is that Ryle's collection was not intended for children, but adults, 'invalids' and 'Christians in private'. Bearing in mind that he also rejected in this collection 'the old familiar compositions', it must be assumed that he was trying to re-establish 'holy thoughts' in adult readers. This argues an implicit awareness of potential distractions from holiness, and an anxiety to regenerate it through formulaic repetitions that perhaps became an equivalent for belief. If you say something or read something often enough, you will believe it - or so Ryle seems to imply.

Whilst this kind of attitude was much in evidence in the mid-Victorian period, it was not the case that such poetry was merely a didactic vehicle. It afforded a more complex experience. That this was so can be confirmed through one of the poets whose work Ryle used: Anna Letitia Waring. (See Chapter 8 for a fuller consideration of her work.) In a biographical memoir prefaced to the 1911 edition of her Hymns and Meditations, a number of appreciative comments are extracted from readers' letters to Waring, including the following anonymous tribute from 'a stranger' in 1905:

For myself I can never express what your hymns have been to me of comfort, of help, of strengthening. Many of them I know by heart, and often repeat them to myself and to others, in times of pain or sorrow - to whom I have found those heaven-taught hymns bring more soothing and uplifting thoughts than any of the many other beautiful hymns which are the inheritance of the Church of earth.¹⁴

The poetry of piety was viewed by many of its readers, like the one quoted above, as inspirational and consoling in effect. As Arnold noted, the Victorians turned to poetry to serve a similar (if not, indeed, substitute) role to religion: 'to interpret life for us, to console us, to sustain us.'¹⁵

Most critical writing about religious verse is concerned primarily with the individual poet, but didactic Sunday verse throws the emphasis on to the reader, and confers something of the social status of that Victorian reader upon the present day reader of the verse. This kind of writing has a strong sense of its audience and is highly reader-oriented. Lotman's concept of a 'normalizing code' seems particularly well suited to Sunday verse, in which is reflected the nature of its readership:¹⁶ predominantly conservative, orthodox Christians, anxious to maintain the stability of their religion in a rapidly changing world.

A major paradox of Sunday verse is evident in the role of women writers. Their writing grew in part out of the comparative inertia of leisured, middle-class domestic existence, yet as a vehicle of female expression it allowed participation in the literary scene, and a degree of self-projection. A polite and respectable occupation (even more so than fiction, in view of the debate on the place of fiction in Sunday reading - see Chapter 2) could turn into a successful journalistic career. Such an achievement can be seen in the case of Marianne Farningham.

In spite of predominantly didactic aims, Sunday verse was also both written and read for the aesthetic pleasure involved, and the entertainment provided. The legitimising of the imagination was important as a stepping stone to secular literature, particularly in

relation to the newly-literate portion of the reading population. The constraints placed by more puritanical sects on Sunday reading made verse especially significant in this respect. Sunday verse thus contributed to the democratization of literature, for both readers and writers. The egalitarian nature of the writing is particularly evident in the area of periodical publication, examined in Chapter 5.

The aims of the following study are threefold: first, it seeks to show what the Victorians themselves felt were the functions of the poetry of piety; secondly, it attempts to survey and characterize the large body of pious verse that promoted the Christian faith of the period; finally, it analyses those additional roles that are apparent to the modern reader.

After preliminary chapters setting the verse in context, the first part of this study concentrates on surveying the characteristics and types of Sunday verse, with emphasis on the Victorian view of the contribution of verse form to religious literature. The roles of such verse, as perceived by the Victorians themselves, are the main focus of this empirical approach which refers chiefly, though not exclusively, to the material listed in the bibliographies in the Appendices. In the second half of the work, attention is turned to the role of women writers through a case study of a reader and writer of Sunday verse, which leads into a broader consideration of women's contributions; attention is also given to some aspects of the language and imagery of the verse.

Two dynamic aspects of Victorian life are stressed in almost every treatment of the period: first, that there was increasing literacy, coupled with wider availability of literature;¹⁷ and second, that scepticism in relation to religion became more widespread.¹⁸ As literature and religion come together in religious verse, it seems

valid to ask two questions of this verse: what does it reflect of these aspects of Victorian life, and, conversely, what effects do literacy and scepticism have on the verse? The following pages seek to explore these issues and examine the complex role of Sunday verse.

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION : pp.1-10

1. Walter E. Houghton, The Victorian Frame of Mind (New Haven, 1957), p. 21, n.77.
2. 'Sunday was always sure to put her out of temper; it was to her such a dull, idle, stupid sort of day.' Annie E. Courtenay, Than Many Sparrows (London, 1885), p.107.

'Sunday 4 August [1867]... we sat under the verandah for long, Sarah, & Alice & I: and at Sarah's request I read aloud things from the Christian Year, her favourites, and one thing of my own.' From the diary of Arthur Munby, quoted in Derek Hudson, Munby: Man of Two Worlds (London, 1972), p.244.
3. G.B. Tennyson, Victorian Devotional Poetry: The Tractarian Mode (Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, 1981), p.191.
4. H.N. Fairchild, Religious Trends in English Poetry, IV (New York, 1957), p. viii. This is a highly idiosyncratic study, primarily concerned with the opposition of Romanticism and Christianity. Fairchild writes with an avowedly Anglo-Catholic prejudice.
5. Pious verse appeared in the Servants' Magazine and was available in costly volumes such as the Earl of Winchilsea's Job (1860), which sold at 10s.
6. F.W. Newman, Phases of Faith (London, 1850), pp. 2, 74, 145.
7. 'Waller', Lives of the Poets, edited by G.B. Hill, 3 vols (Oxford, 1905), I, 191-193.
8. See his review of the Oxford Book of Christian Verse, in RES, 17 (January 1941), 95-102 (p.100).
9. John Dennis, Grounds of Criticism in Poetry (London, 1704), Preface.
10. Quoted in E. Alexander, Primate Alexander (London, 1913), p.105.
11. Matthew Bridges, Hymns of the Heart (London, [1851]), p.35.
12. A Collection of Hymns and Poetry, Original and Selected third edition (London, 1858), Preface.
13. J.C. Ryle, Hymns for the Church on Earth (Ipswich, 1860), p.iv.
14. A.L. Waring, Hymns and Meditations, new edition, with a Memoir by Mary S. Talbot (London, 1911), p.31.
15. 'The Study of Poetry', Essays in Criticism: Second Series (London, 1888), p.2. Originally published as the General Introduction to T.H. Ward's The English Poets (London, 1881).
16. See Yury M. Lotman, 'The Text and the Structure of its Audience',

New Literary History (1982) 81-87.

17. In W.P. Baker's work on Parish Registers and Illiteracy in East Yorkshire (London, 1961) he shows from his study of marriage registers that in the decade 1851-60 24% of grooms and 37% of brides were illiterate. In 1861-70, the figures fall to 21% of grooms and 26% of brides, and the following decade sees a fall to 16% and 12% respectively. These findings are supported by W.G. Stephens's more recent studies - see Chapter 1, n.5 for details. It must be noted, however, that such studies provide only a guide to, rather than an accurate measure of, literacy.
18. 'It was the age of science, new knowledge, searching criticism, followed by multiplied doubts and shaken beliefs.' John Morley, Recollections 2 vols (London, 1917), I, 100.

'Before Darwin gave a responsible scientist's answer in 1859 to the problem of the descent of man, the work of other responsible scientists was raising difficulties for those people who placed a simple trust in the infallibility of the Biblical record.' Asa Briggs, The Age of Improvement, 1783-1867 revised edition (London, 1959; 1979), p.481.

CHAPTER 1

THE BACKGROUND : LITERATURE AND RELIGION 1850-1875

(i) Economic and social climate

The focus of this study is the poetry of piety during a quarter century in which the Christian religion came under significant pressure, from within and without. Socially and politically, the years between 1850 and 1875 were predominantly stable; after the unrest of the 1840s, comparative calm characterized the following period. It was not until the mid-1860s that working-class political unrest surfaced again, and the prosperous economic climate of these years had much to do with this fact. As W.L. Burn notes, 'between 1851 and 1878-83 the national income rose from £613,000,000 to £1,109,000,000; real income per head by 27-30 per cent between 1851 and 1878.'¹ Clapham quotes 56 per cent as the average wage-earner's increase over the period 1850-1870.²

F.M.L. Thompson argues that by cultural and moral criteria the 'great majority of the mid-Victorian working classes were thought to be independent and self-respecting':

The respectable workingman became a key mid-Victorian figure, the character on whose good sense hopes of social harmony were based, and whose example of independence and self-respect would inspire a whole class. Hard-working, reliable, reasonably sober, and a dependable family man, he set great store by a regular job, and although by no means obsequious to his masters he had no intention of overthrowing them or of subverting the social and economic system which provided the job.³

The poetry of piety was closely related to such ideals of respectability, in both lower and middle-class contexts.

In a climate of prosperity, the market for cheap literature showed particularly rapid growth. The final removal of newspaper tax (1855), the abolition of duty on paper (1861), slightly increasing leisure time,⁴ rapid urbanization and extended literacy,⁵ all provided favourable conditions for the proliferation of reading matter, especially periodicals. The Times Tercentenary Handlist of English and Welsh Newspapers, Magazines and Reviews (1920) quotes the number of new periodicals started each year as 80 in 1824, 105 in 1844, 126 in 1864 and 276 in 1884.⁶

In his examination of The British Controversialist, a periodical which ran from 1850 to 1872, Michael Wolff comments that the periodical

represents neatly a significant stage in Victorian social development, for it approximately covers that period during which not only the established classes but the most articulate voices among the clerical and lower professional classes and among the labouring classes themselves had turned from the anxieties and antagonisms of the radical and Chartist years to the milder 'assimilationist' and 'conciliationist' views which were embodied in adult education, the many varieties of institutionalized self-help, and even perhaps the political movements which climaxed in the 1867 Reform Act.⁷

Wolff maintains that during this period it was possible to 'think of there being a national frame of mind.'⁸ This aspect of the mid-Victorian period is important in relation to the poetry of piety, which, itself innately conservative, sought to re-affirm and instil a belief in stability, so characteristic of an inherently traditional religion. However, the 'national frame of mind' has to be understood in comparative terms. The political unrest of the 1830s and 1840s undoubtedly affected attitudes in the 1850s and 1860s. Thus an underlying awareness of the potential threat of the working-class was not unrelated to the moves to influence the way the masses spent Sunday. At the same time, for all classes, the world was changing a

good deal more quickly and, in spite of relative stability, there was still a strong undercurrent of change which gave the Christian religion with its strongly traditional character an important anchoring role. The poetry of piety may be viewed in part as an attempt to stave off change in the church itself - although, like all forms of literature, this verse also contains elements of subversion, division and unrest.

At least superficially, the notion of Sunday as a day apart, a day on which individuals of all classes could concentrate on their religion undistracted, was maintained. In practice, the upper classes followed their leisure activities on Sundays much as on other days, perhaps with the addition of a token attendance at a church service.⁹ However, for the broad spectrum of working and lower middle classes, with their work-dominated lives, Sunday was indeed an island of rest, and a time for families to be together. With even children working long hours until 1874, it was genuinely the only family day of the week. As will be demonstrated in Chapter 2, these people did not necessarily choose to spend their day devoutly. The Lord's Day Observance Society saw some of its most vigorous campaigning from 1850 to 1870.¹⁰

(ii) Religion

G.M. Young sees the impact of Evangelicalism as an important factor in relation to attitudes towards Sunday:

Evangelicalism had imposed on society, even on classes which were indifferent to its religious basis and unaffected by its economic appeal, its code of Sabbath observance, responsibility, and philanthropy; of discipline in the home, regularity in affairs; it had created a most effective technique of agitation, of private persuasion and social persecution. On one of its sides, Victorian history is the story of the English mind employing the energy imparted by Evangelical conviction to rid itself of the restraints which Evangelicalism had laid on the senses and the intellect; on amusement, enjoyment, art; on curiosity, on criticism, on science.¹¹

More recently, Doreen Rosman has somewhat moderated this harsh view of the evangelicals' effect on culture. She acknowledges that 'almost all the evangelical world read poetry Its acceptability derived in part from its subject matter. Poetry lent itself to meditative introspection and religious reflection.' ¹²

Nonconformity was granted some important concessions in the mid-Victorian period, particularly in the area of education. Acts of 1854 and 1856 allowed nonconformists to take degrees at Oxford and Cambridge respectively, without reference to the thirty-nine articles. A dissenter was permitted to take a bachelor's degree at Oxford and any degree at Cambridge in arts, law, medicine or music, but there dissenters were excluded from membership of the senate or university office. By 1871, religious tests were abolished at both Oxford and Cambridge.¹³

Nonconformist churches, especially the various branches of the Methodist church, contributed significantly to the promotion of Sunday schools, and the growth of education at a much humbler level. These schools were seen as an obvious tool to aid the spread of literacy, enabling readers to become acquainted with the scriptures at first hand. The Sunday school movement only became of less significance in this respect after the 1870 Forster Education Act took full effect.

Where the more contentious matter of teaching writing was concerned, the orthodox evangelical line was disapproval of such inappropriate activity on the Sabbath. (Evening classes in the week to teach writing suggest that this was a genuinely religious scruple rather than political caution.) However, there was no consistency in the matter, as Sabbath schools of all persuasions did offer the teaching of writing. The bending of principle can be detected in the

official Methodist shift from the diktat that Sabbath schools 'must not teach writing' of 1819, to the 1826 Conference amendment that 'if the price of conformity was the loss of schools then writing classes could continue as long as there is a desire for them.'¹⁴

The established church faced most obvious numerical competition from the main Protestant dissenting churches (Methodist, Presbyterian, Congregationalist, Baptist); according to Horace Mann's interpretation (to be taken as an approximate guide only) of the religious census figures in 1851, 5,292,551 church attenders were adherents of the Church of England, 4,536,264 belonging to the combined dissenting churches. The numerical significance of the Roman Catholics seems slight in comparison: a mere 383,630.

However, 1850 saw the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in England when the Pope established thirteen Roman Catholic bishoprics, making Wiseman Archbishop, and Cardinal. This was only five years after Newman's defection to Rome, and was felt as a real threat by the established church. Much anti-papal feeling was channelled into the literature of the period. The consequent flourishing of the Evangelicals over the next five or six years may be seen as a direct response.¹⁵ The Oxford movement within the established church had helped to focus anti-Catholic prejudice in the previous decade.

The Church of England was further troubled by internal liturgical and organizational controversies. The legal wrangles over the role of ritual were not unconnected with the Oxford movement. Some changes in the church were allied to legal reform, as in the case of the divorce laws, and the transferral of jurisdiction over marriages and wills to the state, in 1857.

Developments in the Victorian theological debate can be traced back to the previous century, when, as Creed and Smith state,

the contention that all religious truth was subject ultimately to the test of Reason affected the basis of authority in religion and the method of theological thought irrevocably. In this respect the Deistic controversy of the early years of the century marks the beginning of the modern period in theology. ¹⁶

It has thus been argued that the seeds of Victorian doubt were sown by the deists and rationalists of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. William Paley's Natural Theology (1802) had reaffirmed the eighteenth century notion of an intelligent creator, of benevolent purpose, belief in whom was established by reason, and reinforced by revelation, which had been discounted by the early deists in favour of a faith grounded in reason and nature alone. Challenges had already been made to the notion of the Trinity and Christ's divinity, but even those who challenged accepted beliefs, such as the Unitarian Joseph Priestley, still accepted the Gospels as authentic. Again to quote Creed and Smith,

the Scriptures remained the formal authority of the Churches, and no far-reaching modification of the traditional views as to their origin and character had succeeded in establishing itself. Rationalising theologians and pietists alike sought to justify their own theology from the sacred text, assuming it to be the inerrant fount of divine Revelation. ¹⁷

All Victorian sects were faced by problems posed by the doubt that became so marked a feature of this period; perhaps some of the most public blows to confidence in the veracity of biblical accounts occurred within the established church. The higher biblical criticism imported from Germany, popularized by translations such as George Eliot's of Strauss (1846), and the views of nineteenth century

geologists such as Lyell (1830-33) about the time scale of creation had a marked impact, especially in more intellectual circles, on the simple acceptance of biblical truth. Bishop Colenso (1861) provided a striking example of an establishment figure who disturbed the church, by publishing his doubts of the accuracy of parts of the Pentateuch.¹⁸ Nonconformists were more likely to adopt fundamentalist attitudes in relation to biblical interpretation - as did Philip Gosse, in spite of scientific work tending to support the doubters. His *Omphalos* (1857) is a troubled scientist's attempt to account for an Adam fully-formed in the initial act of creation, placed there, with the fossils, by God's own hand.

Questioning of biblical authenticity might have been expected to undermine the literary dependence in religious writing on typology, which depends, according to Fairbairn, on 'the reality of the facts or circumstances stated in the original narrative.'¹⁹ Although such an effect did eventually result, as George P. Landow has shown, the influence of biblical typology was pronounced in this period, allowing for the possibility, indeed the acceptability according to long established tradition, of a degree of allegorical and symbolic interpretation.²⁰

(iii) Religious Verse

1850-75 is a period marked by major developments in the realm of literature and education, reflected in two significant pieces of legislation, Ewart's Public Libraries Act of 1850 and the Forster Education Act of 1870. Both were eventually to contribute to the spread of literacy; however, their effect was gradual. It was not until the later part of the century that public libraries were sufficiently numerous to have a significant impact.²¹ Because the

Forster Act took time to establish new attitudes (and new institutions), the church continued to play a major role in the spread of literacy, principally through the agency of the already flourishing Sunday schools.

With the increase of church building, prompted by expanding urban populations and new parishes, came the development of the parish magazine. Possibly the first such periodical was the Parish Magazine, published in 1859 under the editorship of J.E. Clarke. By 1860 this magazine was able to list 54 parishes in various parts of the country using the contents within their own church covers (a practice common among provincial newspapers of the day). Verse was often included in this periodical.

The volume and variety of religious verse as an identifiable genre in the Victorian period are striking when compared to the previous century. As Harriet Guest has pointed out,

at least in the first half of the eighteenth century, there appears to be no body of poetry that we can confidently identify as religious, in the sense that one might perhaps recognize a georgic genre, or a mode of pastoral poetry ... Johnson commented in his life of Milton, that the truths of religion were, in the eighteenth century, 'habitually interwoven with the whole texture of life.'²²

The eighteenth century's major contribution to religious verse was undoubtedly the hymn. George Sampson acknowledges as much in the title of his Warton lecture of 1943: 'The Century of Divine Song'. He refers to the hymn as 'the poor man's poetry' and 'the ordinary man's theology.'²³

The supremacy of the eighteenth century hymnodists is acknowledged in the frequent reprinting of the work of Cowper, Watts, Wesley and others in Victorian hymn collections. As an age frequently characterized as the 'Age of Reason', the eighteenth century readily

adapted its secular verse to a religious verse which aimed to communicate with ordinary Christians, relying on accepted truths, plain language and restraint. Helen Gardner describes the difference between the eighteenth century religious poet and his nineteenth century successor as the difference between moving from maker to explorer and discoverer.²⁴

Although the hymn is encompassed within the category of lyric, it is a lyric of a highly generalized kind; rarely in eighteenth century hands is it a personal poem. What happens to the hymn in the Victorian period reflects the influence of Romanticism, in that it moves to a verse that is often individual rather than universal in emphasis. The term hymn was to encompass a whole range of writing, both public and private, as Chapter 4 demonstrates. The Victorian religious poet is frequently concerned with the personal expression of a personal faith. Such individualism does not, however, exclude a universal application. Many readers' responses to Victorian pious verse (recorded throughout this study) reflect the ability to identify with a writer's experience. Overall, a marked shift is to be detected from the detached, common sense, rationalistic verse of the eighteenth century, in which religion may often be equated with deism, to the personal God of Victorian Christian verse.

As has been illustrated in the work of Susan Tamke and Lionel Adey,²⁵ the social order and attitudes of Victorian Britain are interestingly embodied in the religious verse, especially hymns. It was an order essentially hierarchical, in which status was acknowledged and preserved, with a due sense of independence of spirit but deference to superiors. Respectability was the unifying aim. If not quite the 'universal motive' claimed by G.M. Young, certainly it reached across a wide range of society, from decent working-class to

upper-middle class. Young views respectability as 'the Evangelical discipline, secularized,'²⁶ and this idea is partly reflected in Samuel Smiles's consideration of the importance of self-control to character; in a chapter devoted to the topic he observes:

Self-control is at the root of all the virtues. ... it is this power which constitutes the real distinction between a physical and a moral life, and that forms the primary basis of individual character.

In the Bible praise is given, not to the strong man who 'taketh a city', but to the stronger man who 'ruleth his own spirit.' This stronger man is he who, by discipline, exercises a constant control over his thoughts, his speech, and his acts.²⁷

Striving for respectability both resulted in and derived from a religious attitude: decency, uprightness, morality, all were seen as issuing from the Christian religion, even by unbelievers. George Eliot acknowledged that 'I admire and cherish much of what I believe to have been the moral teaching of Jesus', although she could not accept the 'system of doctrines built upon the facts of his life.'²⁸

The mid-Victorian years provide an interesting context for literary theory and debate. These were years during which the poet held an esteemed and prominent status in the cultural world. 'We cannot open a magazine or a review,' asserted David Masson in 1853, 'without finding something new said about our friend 'The Poet', as distinguished from our other friend 'The Prophet.'²⁹ In an early review of Tennyson's first two volumes in 1835, John Stuart Mill had urged the poet of 'The Palace of Art' to 'cultivate, and with no half-devotion, philosophy as well as poetry.'³⁰ Such a plea sets the keynote of much Victorian criticism of verse, and marks the shift (to disappear by the end of the century) to a pronounced cultural role for the poet. Verse was frequently accorded the status of a religious text. Keble, in his final lecture on poetry as Professor of Poetry at Oxford (1841), gave major attention to the relationship between poetry

and religion, believing that 'the very practice and cultivation of Poetry will be found to possess, in some sort, the power of guiding and composing the mind to worship and prayer.'³¹ For Keble, as for many of his contemporaries, poetry offered a means to a better life.

It is this climate of opinion that allows for such a close inter-relationship of piety and poetry. Rather than the Arnoldian view of verse as alternative religious text, a secular inspirational or moral discourse, the work to be examined here saw itself as a genuine extension of religious text, and it was essentially supportive of Christianity.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1 : pp.13-23.

1. W.L. Burn, The Age of Equipoise (London, 1964), p.16.
2. J.H. Clapham, An Economic History of Modern Britain (London, 1932), II, 451.
3. F.M.L. Thompson, The Rise of Respectable Society (London, 1988), p.198.
4. For example, the textile industry moved from a sixty hour week in 1850 to fifty six and a half hours in 1874 - see Clapham, II, 449.
5. In Education, Literacy and Society, 1830-1870 (Manchester, 1987) W.B. Stephens publishes detailed tables of standards of literacy, as judged by the ability to sign the marriage register. There are regional variations, some of which counter the general trend; however, the following sampling of the numbers of illiterate brides and grooms for 1856, 1866 and 1871 in five counties is reasonably representative of the overall trend:

	1856	1866	1871
Lincolnshire:	1894	1305	1138
Lancashire:	19411	18699	16427
Derbyshire:	1361	1331	1185
Hampshire:	2036	1289	1196
Devon:	2786	1936	1570

(See Appendix E, p.324.)

Figures for towns reflect a similar pattern, here in percentages of illiterate spouses:

	1856	1866	1871
Darlington	30	18	18
York	24	16	13
Gateshead	37	32	29
Liverpool	37	33	31
Northwich	50	39	36
Bromley	28	17	11
Epsom	22	15	9
Eastbourne	17	11	7

(See Appendix F, pp.325-328.)

6. Quoted by John S. North, 'The Rationale - Why Read Victorian Periodicals?' in Victorian Periodicals: a Guide to Research, edited by J. Don Vann (New York, 1978), p.5.
7. 'The British Controversialist and Impartial Inquirer, 1850 -1872: A Pearl from the Golden Stream' in The Victorian Periodical Press: Samplings and Soundings, edited by Joanne Shattock and Michael Wolff (Leicester, 1982), p.391.

8. Ibid., p.391.
9. Mrs Humphrey Ward reflects the survival of this attitude in Diana Mallory (London, 1908):
 Sir James ...believed Mr Forbes was protesting against the tyranny of Lady Niton in obliging him to go to church.
 'She never enters a place of worship herself, but she insists that her young men friends shall go.' (Chapter 4.)
10. See John Wigley, The Rise and Fall of the Victorian Sunday (Manchester, 1980), chapters 7 and 8. 'Between 1847 and 1857 the LDOS had doubled its income from some £700 to some £1500 a year and had paid off debts In 1850 its Post Office campaign had produced 4,797 petitions, bearing 643,357 signatures' (p.106).
11. Victorian England: Portrait of an Age, second edition (London, 1953), p.5.
12. Doreen Rosman, Evangelicals and Culture (London, 1984), p.178.
13. O. Chadwick, The Victorian Church, third edition (London, 1971), I, 90.
14. Quoted in Philip B. Cliff, The Rise and Development of the Sunday School Movement in England 1780-1980 (London, 1986), p.81.
15. Chadwick, I, 440-455.
 'Papal aggression gave a fillip to the evangelical party... The evangelicals were never triumphant. But there was an epoch when they were powerful; the epoch after 1855, while the memory of of papal aggression still rankled, while Sumner was still Archbishop of Canterbury, while Lord Palmerston presided over the cabinet, while Shaftesbury the noble head of evangelical laymen was stepson-in-law to the prime minister' (p.440).
16. J.M. Creed and J.S.B. Smith, ed., Religious Thought in the Eighteenth Century. Illustrated from Writings in the Period (Cambridge, 1934), p.xvii.
17. op. cit., p.xxxvi.
18. Chadwick, II, 90-97.
19. Patrick Fairbairn, The Typology of Scripture, fifth edition, 2 vols (London, 1870), I, 19.
20. See Victorian Types, Victorian Shadows: Biblical Typology in Victorian Literature, Art and Thought (Boston, London and Henley, 1980).
 'Despite the fundamental importance to the whole notion of typology of this emphasis upon the literal, historical meaning of the prefiguration, from its very earliest days typology has encountered pressures that tended to drive it in the direction of allegory' (p.54). 'Even during the heyday of typology, various pressures attempted to deform it into allegory and emblem. First

of all, although preachers, tract writers and guides to biblical interpretation all emphasize the historical nature of the type, they often undermine that historical reality when they refer the type to something more spiritual than itself' (p.57).

21. 'Taking the period 1847-86 as a whole, libraries were being established at the rate of three or four a year; for the period 1887-1900 the average was sixteen or seventeen a year. The Jubilee year can thus fairly be taken as symbolising the opening of a new era of library development.' Thomas Kelly, A History of Public Libraries in Great Britain 1845-1975, second edition, revised (London, 1977), p.16.
22. Harriet Guest, A Form of Sound Words: the Religious Poetry of Christopher Smart (Oxford, 1989), p.1.
23. George Sampson, 'The Century of Divine Songs', Proceedings of the British Academy, 29 (1944) 37-64 (p.37).
24. Helen Gardner, Religion and Literature (London, 1971), p.162.
25. Susan S. Tamke, Make a Joyful Noise unto the Lord (Ohio, 1978) and Lionel Adey, Hymns and the Christian "Myth" (Vancouver, 1986); Class and Idol in the English Hymn (Vancouver, 1988).
26. Victorian England, p.25, p.5.
27. Samuel Smiles, Character (London, 1871), pp.158-159.
28. Letter to her father [28 February 1842], The George Eliot Letters, edited by G. Haight, 9 vols (New Haven, 1954-1978), I, 128.
29. North British Review, 19 (August 1853), 298.
30. London Review, 1 (April 1835), 423.
31. Lecture XL from Keble's Lectures on Poetry 1832-41, translated by Edward Kershaw Francis, 2 vols (Oxford, 1912), II, 482-83.

CHAPTER 2 : SUNDAY READING

'We never did miss church for weather, and it is further off at Wrangerton.'

'Nobody is going, I tell you. It is not in common sense. You are as bad as Theodora, I declare.'

'I don't mean to be wilful!' said she, piteously; 'I won't go if you tell me not, but please don't. I have no Sunday-book, and nothing to do, and I should feel wrong all the week.'

(Charlotte M. Yonge, Heartsease (1854), Chapter 4)

* * *

(i) The Victorian Sunday

Victorian pious verse must be considered in relation to its Sunday context, and thus it is necessary first of all to establish the nature of Victorian Sundays and Sunday reading. Victorian 'Sunday reading' may be defined as work of a serious nature with a specific religious or moral content, appropriately pious matter for Sabbath consumption. During the mid-Victorian period there was a perceived need for such Sunday reading, as the quotation above from Charlotte M. Yonge illustrates, which both publishers and writers worked energetically to meet.

The Victorian Sunday was predominantly a day of rest, in so far as most work stopped on that day, except such as was considered 'works of necessity and charity,' in the words of the 1677 statute. It is evident that erosion of the strict 'no work' statute was accelerated by the advent of the railways, when the plea of 'necessity' was distinctly arguable. John Montgomery laments 'how few delight in Sabbath hours!' He directly attributes changing attitudes to the influence of the railway:

Time was when Scotland's Sabbaths were her boast,
Ere yet the Railway's iron lines were stretch'd
Along her winding vales,- ere yet a crowd

Of the most worthless from her towns was pour'd,
 On every desecrated Sabbath day,
 Into the stillness of her rural scenes,
 Diffusing every where augmented vice.
 Far other sights the wondering stranger saw:
 In town and country all was sacred rest;
 Rare were the footfalls in the silent streets,
 Save when the quiet multitudes, that bore
 Their bibles in their hands, in family groups
 Went to the house of prayer, or home return'd.¹

For the middle classes Sunday was a prime test of respectability, being predominantly a day of self-restraint and church attendance (though fewer families than expected turned out to be churchgoers on 'Census Sunday', 30 March, 1851).² There were examples to be found of working-class excesses on Sunday, but so were there the devout lower-class individuals for whom the routine of church or chapel (most often the latter) and religious reading were an obvious source of fulfilment. There were similar extremes to be found within the middle-class responses to the day.³ The reasons for this diversity have been explored by J. Wigley in The Rise and Fall of the Victorian Sunday (Manchester, 1980). He points there to a multiplicity of factors contributing to the character of the day, and he reasonably claims that there was 'no single form' for a Victorian Sunday.⁴

In 1850, the Illustrated London News, in a contribution to the debate then current about the withdrawal of a Sunday postal service, pointed to the contrast between the more liberal English Sunday, and the strict Scottish Sabbath:

The Sunday, as commonly observed in England, and in other parts of Protestant Europe (Scotland alone excepted), is neither a rigidly Jewish, nor a strictly Puritanical day. It is a day of cessation from toil - a day devoted to the exercise of religion - a day in which rational-minded men (forming the large majority of the people) think it not inconsistent with the example of the Saviour, and the inspired teachings of his Apostles, that works of necessity and mercy should be done - and a day, moreover, which the toil-overburdened multitude of cities prize as their peculiar day of blessing, in which they may walk, as well as pray, in the fields, to enjoy the pure breeze of Heaven, and refresh their spirits in communion with nature and the God

who made it.

... Very different from the Sunday is the Sabbath of that class of religionists, half Puritanical, half Jewish, who have lately been agitating... for a 'bitter' observance of the day, and who wish to compel all the world to conform to their peculiar notions. Scotland is the Paradise of these. ⁵

(ii) The Nature of Sunday Reading

For the mid-Victorian the nature of Sunday reading was closely related to the nature of Sunday (or, the Sabbath) itself. Differing modes of conduct considered appropriate by different social and religious groups in turn influenced the precise content of acceptable Sunday reading.

This variously viewed day offered readers two major kinds of periodical reading: the sensational secular press on the one hand, and the pious or devotional religious publications on the other. The rapidly increasing readership in the Victorian period, as literacy extended, came under pressure to buy either the more sensational 'news' based publications or the restrained and pious offerings. Much of the latter came into existence as a direct challenge to the former.⁶ Whilst the concern of the present study is the latter, it is important to see what sort of material was in part responsible for the publishing world's promotion of pious prose and verse of earnest moral intention, in direct competition with the secular market.

For a large number of secular readers, 'Sunday reading' meant the popular Sunday press, with its sensational appeal,

consisting of the weekly offscourings of a nation's depravity diligently raked together. This literary garbage is the mental aliment served up for Sabbath entertainment to tens of thousands of our working population.

Such was the bitter view of John Allan Quinton, as presented in his prize essay in support of the Sabbath for working men.⁷ He no doubt had in mind such papers as Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper and the News

of the World, both of which published the proceedings of the police courts. The main objection to the material published here was the obsession with crime, sex and violence. There was a feeling that taste for such reading matter would result in adverse influence on behaviour; in contradistinction, pious Sunday reading aimed to promote lawful and moral behaviour.

A closer look at both some of the criticized material and the nature of the criticisms levelled provides a more exact idea of the nature of this crusade to purify the periodical press. A typical sample from Lloyd's is the following account of a murder:

HORRIBLE MURDER OF A FEMALE

Yesterday afternoon, considerable excitement prevailed in Oxford-Street, near Soho Square, in consequence of the discovery that a female had been found at No.376, Oxford-Street, in a room at the top of the house, with her head off, and who is believed to be the female who is alluded to in the letter which was discovered on the foreigner who committed suicide the previous day (an account of the discovery of the body will be found in another page)... The door was locked, but was forced open with a poker, when the female was discovered lying on the floor, having had her head separated from her body. This (the head) was found in a cupboard, and some of her limbs were observed to have been cut, as if with a saw... the room... was in a frightful state from the vast quantity of blood upon the floor of it...⁸

The British Banner, launched in 1848 in a deliberate assault on pernicious Sunday reading material, with the aim 'thoroughly to educate' its readers 'on Christian principles', pronounced in its Introductory Address that the Police Court reports were

so many Cess Pools, so many pits of moral pollution, where all that is vile, foul, putrid, and pestilential, is weekly collected to be cleared out and spread abroad on the minds of the British people every Sabbath-day!⁹

Physical disgust is evident in the language of revulsion used here, and by Quinton in the comment quoted above: 'offscourings', 'garbage', 'cess-pools', 'putrid, and pestilential'. The Lloyd's

report presents death in association with blood, violence, suffering, dismemberment. Such ingredients are not necessarily absent from religious periodicals. For example, 'A Song of Redemption' by J.F. Winks in the Baptist Youth's Magazine (1859) describes 'the Crucified' as 'mangled, bruised, and gory.'¹⁰ This language is given an altogether different complexion in a religious context. Death is a prominent and recurrent theme in religious writing, and the blood and wounds of the crucifixion, the torture implicit in the process, the relish of 'Crucify him!' (Mark 15. 14; Luke 23. 21) could well be presented in a manner similar to the Lloyd's article.

In a world dominated by the constraints of respectability, one permissible outlet for strong feeling was religious behaviour. Hence earnest tones of self-criticism and urgent calls for help in prayer were acceptable. Strong language in any other context was inappropriate. This attitude was particularly noticeable in the lives of Victorian women, for whom religion often provided an outlet for energies and initiatives otherwise suppressed by a conforming society that assumed a quietist role for women. The complex relationship between religion, literature and education, meant that seeking respectability was both a religious and a social phenomenon. Appropriately pious reading matter helped to channel the feelings into acceptable responses both socially and spiritually. Thus religious verse became a legitimate channel for the emotionally heightened language of the kind that is found in the secular press. These two apparently very different types of writing, with largely different readerships, were further linked by the element of apparent moral concern. Material in the police reports was frequently sensationalized in presentation, purporting to be shocking in order to provide implicit moral condemnation of such behaviour as was reported. The

villains of murderous acts were seen to be pursued by the law. However, the manner of presentation offered the possibility of salacious or sadistic interest, of moral perversion rather than rectitude. The Lloyd's article quoted above reflects this ambiguity in the judgemental 'horrible' of the head-line which is counterbalanced by the 'excitement' occasioned by the event.

(iii) The Role of Sunday Reading

Pious Sunday reading promulgated its moral concern in a much less ambiguous way; indeed, the clearly didactic note was frequent. Violent death is of course present in Christ's crucifixion, but the suffering of the crucifixion is traditionally viewed by Christians as a selfless act endured for the salvation of mankind. Here violence is turned to a positive end. Otherwise death was most often seen as the doorway to heaven, a gentle release:

So when the Christian's eyelid droops and closes
 In nature's parting strife,
 A friendly Angel stands where he reposes,
 To wake him up to life.

He gives a gentle blow, and so releases
 The spirit from its clay;
 From sin's temptations, and from life's distresses,
 He bids it come away.

It rises up, and from its darksome mansion
 It takes its silent flight;
 And feels its freedom in the large expansion
 Of heavenly air and light. ¹¹

The idea that religion provided the proper context for strength of feeling was a view obviously compatible with the enthusiasm of Nonconformism. While the Tractarian doctrine of reserve might seem to prohibit what could be considered vulgar rather than genteel, explicit rather than implicit, understatement and implication in no way inhibited strength of feeling. Keble himself is perhaps best evidence

of this fact. He reflected something of the paradox involved in his belief that sacred poetry should be 'fervent, yet sober; awful, but engaging; neither wild and passionate, nor light and airy', and thus 'the truest expression of the best state of the affections.'¹² Although he wished to illustrate 'the soothing tendency in the Prayer Book' (Preface) through the Christian Year (1827), so much re-printed in the Victorian period,¹³ this aim did not result in merely bland writing. The collection abounds in expressions of intensity. A purely random selection will demonstrate this fact: 'O hateful spell of Sin!' begins the poem for 'The Third Sunday after Trinity'. The exclamatory note continues in this poem in 'O turn, and be thou turn'd!', 'O lost and found!' It is not merely in exclamation this characteristic is found: 'We in dark dreams are tossing to and fro/Pine with regret, or sicken with despair' ('Twenty-fourth Sunday after Trinity'); 'Such trembling joy the soul o'erawes /As nearer to Thy shrine she draws' ('Trinity Sunday'); 'The world's a room of sickness, where each heart/Knows its own anguish and distress' ('St.Barnabas'). Such intensity when in the service of religion, enacting its strength of feeling in socially acceptable channels, often in private, was viewed as appropriate. An obituary tribute to Keble, by Peter Bayne, in the Christian World Magazine, claimed of the Christian Year that

its every strain is inspired with tender, and noble, and refined human feeling, and by reading it and re-reading it, if by any process whatever, will a young man become all we mean by a Christian gentleman, and a young woman all that we mean by a Christian lady.¹⁴

This kind of attitude helps to account for the considerable number of volumes of devotional verse published. Such a volume was respectable both as product and acquisition, yet at the same time a focus of intense feeling for both writer and reader. This is not to

suggest that every volume was written at a high pitch of intensity, merely to point out that meditative writers could still use the kind of language that in other prose contexts, such as 'cheap and noxious' journalism,¹⁵ would signal excess and vulgarity rather than respectable reflection.

The clear division of secular and religious Sunday reading makes for easy distinction; indeed, there is the danger of overlooking similarities. However, as the Illustrated London News article suggests (see above, pp.28-29), the term 'religious' itself takes on many complexions in relation to the reading deemed suitable for the serious-minded on Sundays. The Prospectus for Sunday at Home - priced competitively at 1d - provides an interesting survey of areas considered appropriate (by the Religious Tract Society, its publishers) for Sunday reading:

The SUNDAY AT HOME is intended to supply what has long been felt to be a pressing want, namely, a Periodical which shall furnish appropriate Reading during such intervals of the Lord's Day as are not occupied in public worship.

The SUNDAY AT HOME will embrace, Choice Biography - Incidents in Church History - the Evidences of Religion - Christian Missions, their Progress and Achievements - Sacred Philosophy - Natural History of the Bible - The Origin, History, and Effects of Remarkable Religious Books - Short Expositions and Illustrations of Scripture - Scenes from the Life of Our Saviour - Anecdotes - Religious Literature - Sacred Poetry, &c. A distinct department of the work will be specially devoted to the wants of the Younger Branches of the Family.¹⁶

There is a sense here that time on Sunday must be filled; leisure must be participatory activity, not mere idleness, which proverbially opens the way to the devil, whatever your social class. Obviously, however, this was not a periodical that would have gained access to the home of such as Mark Rutherford's parents, 'rigid Calvinistic Independents' by whom no book 'more secular than the Evangelical Magazine was tolerated' on the Sabbath.¹⁷

The Reverend Dr Kitto's Sunday Reading for Christian Families preceded Sunday at Home by over a year. Its prospectus has many points of contact with the latter, though at double the price (2d) it was a more conspicuously middle-class product:

...there is a want generally felt, and frequently declared, of a weekly Publication EXPRESSLY ADAPTED FOR SUNDAY READING IN CHRISTIAN FAMILIES...each Number will contain...a short Commentary upon one of the Lessons for the day,...Articles on Scripture History, Geography, Manners and Customs, Natural History, Travels,&c, - all designed to form interesting elucidations of various portions of Holy Scripture; - a Narrative of the Life and Character of some remarkable Scripture Personage; - Short Biographical Sketches and Anecdotes of those who have been eminently distinguished in the Christian Church for their services, holy lives, or devoted deaths; - a Paper on Relative and Social Duties; - Sacred Poetry; - with a Selection of Miscellaneous Articles, instructive and edifying. In short, every endeavour will be made to render each number variously interesting in the combination of explanatory, practical, and illustrative articles, which it will present; and the writers, while traversing all the fields of knowledge for tribute to the Bible, and for nutriment on the 'day of rest', will be deeply conscious of the responsibility they have undertaken, and will anxiously endeavour that HOLINESS TO THE LORD shall be plainly inscribed upon all the offerings they present to 'Christian Families' for 'Sunday Reading.'¹⁸

Sunday reading was thus developed, at least in part, as a response to secular reading which was considered inappropriate to the Sabbath, by those of many different religious persuasions; the periodicals figure most notably in this respect. Periodical publication was frequently the cheapest form of Sunday reading, and in the poorer classes copies were more often borrowed than bought. Often the Sunday school libraries were the source of supply - through the children to the whole family. These libraries provided an important link between Biblical teaching and literature. A letter from the Superintendent of Toddington Sunday School, Samuel Wells, to the editor of the Primitive Methodist Children's Magazine suggests that many copies of these periodicals were purchased, and each copy was likely to have several borrowers:

...feeling great pleasure in reading our large and small Magazines, and believing them to be a blessing to many families, I have, of late, more earnestly solicited in their behalf the patronage of the friends and children of our Sabbath school, and have happily obtained additional subscribers for next year. Instead of ordering eighteen small ones, and three large ones (the number we take this year), I have ordered...for the year 1851, forty copies of the small Magazines, and seven of the large ones. We have, Sir, a flourishing Sabbath-school of about eighty children.¹⁹

Many more of the working class became literate, having been taught to read in the Sunday school in the first place. Sunday reading therefore takes its place as an important element in the drive to spread literacy and make literature, especially of a religious nature, more widely accessible. It is evident that a primarily religious motive - a concern for the well-being of Christian souls - underlies at least some of the Sunday reading, which was also both offered and seen as a fulfilment of the individual, as the case of Marianne Farningham demonstrates in Chapter 7. Whilst commercial considerations were of some influence on the market for such reading, more particularly at the profitable upper-class end, such considerations were not necessarily removed from a religious motive, as the case of the philanthropist Dr Barnardo's periodical suggests.²⁰

There was an element of social control in the largely middle-class promotion of material aimed at the working class, which was essentially concerned to advocate a life of virtue and self-discipline. It would be a mistake, however, to think of Sunday reading as purely repressive in intention or effect. Tradition plays a large part in Victorian Sunday reading habits. B.L. Farquhar, a female working-class writer, wrote of 'Education in Humble Life' and observed that though

their young feet should never enter a school-room door, as soon as their lisping tongue can utter the words, they are taught to delight in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs suited to their infant years. They learn, one scarcely knows when or how, to trace out the lines, and read the beautifully simple language of the word of God.²¹

Reading was a respectable occupation, essentially appropriate to quiet periods on Sundays, between services. The very action of concentrating on pious writing was seen as a suitable self-discipline. Isabella Fyvie recorded the typical range of her 'general Sunday reading': 'I had the "Pilgrim's Progress", "Agathos, and other Stories" (Bishop Wilberforce), several volumes of the Child's Companion and the Youth's Magazine.'²²

At least this list includes some material designed for children. For younger readers the self-discipline required to read matter well beyond their years was itself a test of moral fibre. Margaret Oliphant made a pertinent point:

I have seen young people piously occupied on Sunday with good books - excellent books, full of the saddened experience of lifetimes full of trial, treatises of consolation addressed to the consciences of men and women heavy laden in the troublous course of life; but in the pages which they read, because it was right to read them, there was no account made of their own youth, the brightest of earthly things - no allowance left for that elasticity which will not be daunted, and that hope which knows no bounds.

She goes on to ask a significant question: 'why should we desire to subdue them?'²³ The most interesting implication in her essay is that a specialized kind of reading is appropriate to a particular readership. While this was not a new phenomenon, considerable impetus was given to writing for children in the nineteenth century by the Evangelical movement, as M.N. Cutt has demonstrated:

Thanks to the Evangelical success in establishing by about 1840 strict Sunday observance and, in literate homes, the habit of specialized Sunday reading, the cheap and copious output of Tract Societies and other religious publishing houses was widely circulated. It formed until after 1900 a large proportion of

children's literature in the Dominions. Whilst most Victorian children of educated families had access to excellent books from extensive family libraries they also read Jessica's First Prayer, The Wide, Wide World, Christie's Old Organ, and the works of A.L.O.E. ... At the same time, these tales, others like them, and related printings of the tract societies supplied most of the official school and Sunday school reading matter for children of workmen, farm labourers, lesser tradesmen, artisans and villagers, and for those slum children who could read.²⁴

A collection entitled Sunday Chaplet of Stories by A.L.O.E.,²⁵ published by Nelson in 1867, declared in its Preface that:

white blossoms, simple and pure, these are what we would gather for a Sunday Chaplet: we want no gay colours, no gaudy flowers, such as may form a May-Day garland. I have sought to twine in this little Wreath, culled from the leaves of "THE CHILDREN'S PAPER", only such story-flowers as may appear specially suited for Sunday.

This policy of selection clearly signals the unsuitability for Sunday reading of some of the material appearing in this periodical.

Macmillan published a Sunday Library for Household Reading, each title appearing in monthly numbers, from 1868 into the 70s. The prospectus sounded a familiar note:

The Projectors of the Sunday Library feel that there is a want of books of a kind that will be welcome in many Households for reading on Sundays, and will be in accordance with earnest convictions as to the nature of the 'Sabbath Day.'

... Sunday should contain the theory, the collective view, of our work-day lives; and these work-days should be the Sunday in action. Our Sunday Books, therefore, ought to do more than afford abstract subjects of meditation; they should exercise a living power by bringing us into direct contact with all that is true and noble in human nature and human life, and by showing us the life of Christ as the central truth of humanity.

For Sunday reading, therefore, we need not only history, but history in relation to Christianity, not only biography but the lives of men who have consciously promoted the Christian religion - Christian heroes in art, in science, in divinity, and in social action. The history of Christianity permanent and progressive, is also the history of civilization, and from the growth of the latter we may be strengthened in the faith that the former will ultimately prevail throughout the whole world.

Books of this kind must be powerful in the promotion of all good, social, political, and personal. Forming part of a continuous work they will be free from the defects that arise from want of sequence, and so will not foster the habit of desultory reading. (Christmas, 1867) ²⁶

While much here is similar to other prospectuses for Sunday material, the emphasis on making Sunday the 'theory' of the 'work-day' lives is significant. It is the day that dominates the week, but to do so adequately it requires the appropriate reading to equip individuals to face the week in such a way as to live out the theory. Appropriate reading is here judged not merely by its subject matter, but in relation to its sustained approach, in order to avoid the merely 'desultory'. Such an attitude appears to suggest that reading is beneficial only in proportion to its substance and continuity of thought. This argues for a more highly literate adult reader than was generally appealed to by Sunday reading, as well as a more leisured one.

It could also be argued that 'desultory' reading has implications of boredom rather than the commitment encouraged by sustained attention to substantial and developed material. In all such largely middle-class material, aimed chiefly at adult readers who would have the time for continuous, sustained reading, there is a consensus about the range of suitable matter for Sunday reading. Literature designed for children often had a more thoroughly didactic tone, and children, of course, did not have quite the same sort of 'work-day' lives. Model behaviour is a common theme in writing for children.

There is a strong sense in the primary material - especially apparent in publishers' prospectuses and first issues of religious periodicals - of an urgent need. Sunday reading is offered as a prop to conformity, almost as though the act of undertaking the reading is equivalent to an act of faith or worship. For some readers perhaps such an equivalence was genuinely felt. The quotation from Charlotte M. Yonge at the head of this chapter certainly implies such an

attitude. If pious reading were viewed as part of appropriate religious behaviour, then the devout would clearly be ready to adopt the discipline, and those who aspired to such status, for whatever reason, would follow suit. The need appears to be identified in two ways: there is the necessity of counteracting the proliferation of 'pernicious' reading matter with that which is morally sound, and the need to provide an acceptable means of occupying time on the sabbath. (The two are obviously inter-related.)

Sunday reading took place as preparation for, development of, and even substitute for, attendance at church or chapel. In the latter case, special reading matter was designed for those who, through sickness or infirmity, were physically prevented from attending acts of worship. Such reading could be a private and devotional occupation, or a family occupation. Quiet periods of reading at home appear to be most commonly undertaken during the afternoon and evening, as B.L. Farquhar indicated:

During the afternoon mother would read to us; or all of us, father and mother included, read by turns; questions were then asked, and conversation entered into about what we had been reading.²⁷

Reading aloud in a family group figures in many accounts of Sunday reading. There were spiritual, educational and recreational aspects to these reading activities. For rural families such as Farquhar's, reading was one of the few possible recreations. Urban populations, of course, had many more distracting alternatives available.

There was some debate about the genres acceptable for reading on Sundays. The anonymous work Ashton Cottage (1851), 'A Sunday Tale' as it proclaimed itself, asserted in its Preface that it was aiming, like many other similar works, 'to supply the deficiency in suitable Sunday afternoon readings.' The author announced, in defence of this

fictional narrative 'for the profitable occupation of those hours so often wasted or wearisome' that it was hoped that 'the union of incident with sound doctrine may arrest the attention, in humble imitation of our Lord's example of tuition by parables... .' The precedent of the parables was frequently quoted in defence of fiction for Sunday reading.

Pious reading figured in many accounts of Sundays, and the Bible, not surprisingly, was the work most frequently read. For all the apparent appropriateness of the parables as a literary prototype, many writers scorned such 'light' reading as unsuitable for the Sabbath. Caroline Fry, in her preface to a collection of reflective essays on aspects of religion, Sunday Afternoons at Home (in its second edition in 1847), stated that

the Sunday story-book, if admissable at all, must be the religious novel; a species of reading so essentially worldly, that it can tend but to dissipate, and draw off the mind from the devotional uses of the holy day.

She comes to the conclusion that for older children 'something lighter than the sermon-book, or the doctrinal treatise, is in demand.'²⁸ Verse could obviously fill this role.

(iv) Sunday Verse

It is notable how often a negative view was taken of Sunday, with 'its hours so often wasted or wearisome', as time that has somehow to be filled, usually by an effort of will. A striking example of this attitude is represented in Arthur Clennam's dejected view of Sundays in Chapter 3 of Little Dorrit. Margaret Oliphant claimed in the opening of her work, Sundays (1858), that it was 'fashionable to speak of our "gloomy Sundays"', although she concluded that such days were 'plainly and distinctly ... the "own fault" of most people who

complain of them.'²⁹ R.H. Baynes, the editor of Cassell's Illustrated Book of Sacred Poems (1867), stated in his introduction that

the object of the present collection is to supply new material for the solace and the help of Christian hearts. We all of us have some spare moments - specially in the intervals of holy service on the first Day of the week - which we may employ both wisely and well in drinking in some refreshing draughts from these fountains of delight.³⁰

The verse is to be an active agent of refreshment in a potential desert of boredom. This idea is so recurrent in autobiographical accounts, editorial comments and in fiction that Sunday reading seems consciously to become a respectable means of imposing vitality or variety on a day of potential inertia. As the next chapter will demonstrate, the tone of much Sunday verse is pre-eminently reassuring, affirmative, resoundingly positive writing, to be read in the potentially negative context of a Victorian Sunday, thereby to energize an inert state. Sunday verse could thus be identified as a subconscious defence against negativism (or the increasing scepticism of the period). The positive rhythms of the popular forms most current were active agents in the battle against the 'wearisome'. Piety in poetry had an added dimension of interest in this way, an energy and variety less evident in prose. This persuasiveness of form was most evident in the hymn. The fact that many hymns were learnt by heart, to be recited on Sundays, adds to the idea of verse as activity.

Verse as a distinct element within Sunday reading was seen to afford opportunities to come closer to biblical truth, through language closely related to the Bible. The only Sunday reading accepted without question by all serious readers was Biblical material and hymns. It was considered permissible to present Bible stories in

simplified versions for younger readers, often in verse. A Religious Tract Society publication of about 1865, Sunday Afternoons with Mamma, is subtitled 'A Book for Very Little Children', and the writer, Agnes Giberne, provides an informative sketch of a typically middle-class family and its Sunday reading routine for the children:

On Saturday evening, just before bed-time, [Kate and Ernest] always helped their nurse to put away in the nursery cupboard all their toys and their 'week day' Picture Books, and then from a drawer below was taken, first a box of moveable letters, which Kate and Ernest... were only allowed to use on Sunday... . But besides the letter box, in the Sunday drawer were kept two large Picture Books, with large coloured pictures of Bible scenes... and there were some smaller books as well, with pretty Bible stories and sweet hymns in them. All these were taken out of the drawer on Saturday night, and put away again on Sunday night, because if Kate and Erny had had these letters and books every day, they would, perhaps, have grown tired of them, and would have had no fresh books for Sunday... . Sometimes Kate and Erny read to their mamma from one of their Sunday story books. Then she read to them, and they learned a short text, or one or two verses of a hymn.³¹

The corporate nature of the Sunday reading activity is again stressed, and the Bible and its derivatives are seen as entirely acceptable. For some religious groups, such as stricter Methodist and Calvinist sects, this was as far as Sunday reading went. The unsectarian emphasis of periodicals such as Sunday at Home led to a greater variety of reading, acceptable to readers of a broadly evangelical disposition.

Verse reading was one eminently respectable way of occupying time on the Sabbath, and there was an attitude of reverence towards verse that determined a devout attentiveness to its content - around mid-century matter was clearly more highly regarded than manner. This was so generally; as Isobel Armstrong observes: 'one of the main preoccupations, perhaps even the obsession, of Victorian criticism was what the poem should be about.'³² The poet and hymn writer John Bowring reflected a typical attitude, maintained in mid-century, in

his claim that 'the substance of piety is of higher interest than any of its decorations, - that the presence of truth is of more importance than the garment it wears.'³³ Such attitudes do not, as at first glance may seem the case, militate against poetry being more valuable than prose. Bowring's is rather an argument against form and its embellishment at the expense of meaning. The fact that he did choose verse as his vehicle shows that Bowring perceived it to be the more appropriate to his needs. An instinctive distrust of embellishment may be directly related to the prevailing anti-Catholic frame of mind, so pronounced in the fifties. The truth needed no garnishing in Protestant eyes; decorations were regarded with suspicion and allied to the 'spirit of superstition and wonder'.³⁴

Poetic forms of discourse were instilled into the majority of young Victorians at an early age, principally via the hymn and the Bible, either at home or at Sunday school. Thus verse became an integral part of religious perception and communication. In a periodical article on 'Spiritual Song', the Reverend W. Gray reflects on this fact:

There is a power in poetry and music to fix any sentiment in the memory we may wish to retain... On this principle we may account for the fact of so much of the Old Testament being written in poetry. There needed something to impress the human mind with the love of Jehovah, and with religious truth, and to fix in the heart pious sentiments. In order, therefore, to invite the ear to listen, to aid the memory in retaining, and to inspire the soul with holy thoughts of God, the sacred writers adopted the poetic style, so conveying the most sublime sentiments in the most attractive manner.³⁵

To 'invite the ear... aid the memory' and 'inspire the soul' were the aims of many writers of Sunday verse, as Chapter 3 will demonstrate. H.N. Fairchild was right to emphasize the fact that in this period 'the critics and the reading public felt that there was something religious about poetry and something poetical about

religion.' He further asserted that 'as time went on they depended more upon poetry than upon the pulpit for the most truly elevating sentiments and attitudes concerning "the things of the spirit."' ³⁶ Poetry - more precisely, Sunday verse - thus became an important mediator of the truth, acting to contain both the Catholic excesses and the secular liberties seen as alternatives to the Protestant religion. The verse's principal function within a predominantly Protestant tradition was to offer a means of interpreting the Bible, both directing the reader to the sacred text, and reinforcing the biblical material.

In the religious periodicals, the prose content offered a plentiful supply of didactic material. Thus the verse content has to be seen as offering something additional to mere enforcement by repetition (though the value of verse in this respect should not be overlooked). It seems that verse supplied a direct link with the language and rhythms of the Bible and prayer book, and became an imaginative bridge for the reader, providing inspirational as well as instructive material. The inheritance of Romanticism is apparent in the tendency to view verse as a vehicle ideally suited to communicating the sublime (and thus hinting at the divine) - though this view of course pre-dates the Romantic movement.

It is impossible to isolate a single factor influencing the phenomenon of verse as Sunday reading. As with the varied nature of Sunday itself, and attitudes towards it, a mixture of influences seems to be at work. Most simply, there was a genuine desire to inculcate sound religious principles and understanding of doctrine, which could be most memorably and economically achieved through verse. The Reverend James Page's collection, Protestant Ballads (1852) reflected the author's intention of 'being considered a good

Protestant' rather than 'a good Poet', the poems being designed to keep alight 'that flame of Protestant feeling.'³⁷ This may be designated a religious motive for writing. (This volume, in its title, offers further testimony to the influence of Romanticism; hymns would have been the more likely form in the eighteenth century. Ballads also have more conscious links with popular literature.)

Secondly, a natural extension of the religious motive was the aim to promote interest in Sunday verse as a distraction from inappropriate reading matter. Such material was most frequently seen as morally subversive in effect, and pious Sunday reading deemed a preferable substitute. Here the moral imperative dominated, as seen in the attitude of the British Banner, in its preliminary prospectus: 'the weekly papers which have the largest circulations are obnoxiously irreligious and demoralizing.'³⁸

Another function of Sunday reading can be distinguished as its social role; this was again very closely intertwined with both the foregoing influences. It had much to do with the Victorian emphasis on family and home; parents and children were encouraged to join in Sunday reading activities (a fact implicit in such titles as Sunday Friend, Family Treasury of Sunday Reading, Family Sunday Book, and Sunday Reading for Christian Families). It was in verse learning and reciting, as well as hymn and Bible reading, that this was most frequently put into effect. The Sunday schools contributed to the notion of Sunday reading as a corporate activity, simultaneously engaging both adults and children, as examples elsewhere in this study illustrate (see pp.40, 156).

The strong element of implicit social control in some Sunday reading material would suggest a further area of influence - the political. It was sound common sense to promote hard-work,

forbearance, self-restraint, decency, and toleration, in the interests of an uncomplaining and co-operative work force. In such a view, Sunday reading becomes a tool of a cultural imperialism.³⁹

Once again, there was an area of overlap here, with a more specifically economic motive: if your rewards are in heaven, you do not need financial rewards on earth. As Bishop Ken advised:

That better wealth lay up in store,
Which thou shalt keep for evermore.⁴⁰

In all these areas verse was able to make its points quickly and emphatically, and might appear more approachable to some readers than pages of closely printed prose. It is seldom possible, of course, to distinguish absolutely between these intertwined influences on Sunday reading material. It is evident that a high proportion of the verse in such contexts had a didactic function. All these aims were responding to the sense that there was a need to inculcate certain attitudes and beliefs, and whichever motive was dominant, such control was seen as essentially desirable.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2, pp.27-47.

1. John Montgomery, Thoughts on Man (London, 1852), pp.63-64.
2. Horace Mann's interpretation of the figures has been much debated, with its assumption of 12.5 million 'eligible' churchgoers, of whom 5.3 million did not attend. W.S.F. Pickering works on the best attended service of the day to reflect attendance figures, and concludes that 'from results so computed, a minimum of 6.4 million individuals attended church, which represents 35 per cent of the total population, 47 per cent of the total adult population 10 years of age and over, or 51 per cent of Mann's calculated 'eligible day' population.' See 'The 1851 Religious Census- A Useless Experiment?', British Journal of Sociology, 18 (1967), 382-407 (pp.393-4).
3. Dickens sketches a typical range of activities on a Sunday in London in his pamphlet Sunday Under Three Heads (London, 1836).
4. J. Wigley, The Rise and Fall of the Victorian Sunday (Manchester, 1984), p.2.
5. 15 June 1850, p.417.
6. The reasoning behind the publication of Sunday at Home, which is recorded fully in Chapter 5, was typical of many such titles responding to a moral and spiritual need. The direct challenge to inappropriate reading matter is a common element in first issues and prospectuses: for example, the British Banner, the Christian Family Advocate, and the Day of Rest.
7. J.A. Quinton, Heaven's Antidote to the Curse of Labour: or, the Temporal Advantages of the Sabbath, considered in relation to the working classes (London, 1849), p.69.
8. 1 July 1860, p.123.
9. 7 January 1848, p.7.
10. Baptist Youth's Magazine (April 1859), 126.
11. J.D. Burns, from 'The Death of the Christian', Lyra Anglicana (London, forty-eighth thousand, 1870, p.157.
12. 'Sacred Poetry', Occasional Papers and Reviews (Oxford, 1877), p.91.
13. See details in n.13 to Chapter 4, p.99.
14. Peter Baynes, 'The Author of "The Christian Year"', Christian World Magazine (May 1866), 342.
15. 'Address to our Readers', Sunday at Home (7 December 1854), inside front cover.

16. Bent's Monthly Literary Advertiser (April 1854), 69.
17. The Autobiography of Mark Rutherford (London, 1881), p.6.
18. Bent's Monthly Literary Advertiser (February 1853), 41.
19. Primitive Methodist Children's Magazine (January 1851), 35.
20. 'Barnardo had contributed stories for children to a little magazine called Father William's Stories. In 1874 he acquired the magazine, changed the name to The Children's Treasury and became the editor... It seems to have been a financial success from the beginning and there was said to have been a balance of £1,878 in 1877.' Quoted in Gillian Wagner, Barnardo (London, 1979). Dr Wagner draws her figures from The Charity Organisation Reporter, 20 December 1877.
21. Female Education (London, 1851), pp.76-77.
22. Isabella Fyvie Mayo, Recollections (London, 1910), p.15.
23. Margaret Oliphant, Sundays (London, 1858), pp.11, 12.
24. Margaret N. Cutt, Ministering Angels (Wormley, 1979), p.xi.
25. A.L.O.E. (A Lady of England) was the pen name of Charlotte Maria Tucker.
26. Prospectus, bound in to the back of the first volume, The Pupils of St.John the Divine by the Author of 'The Heir of Redclyffe' [C.M. Yonge], Part 1 (January 1868).
27. Farquhar, Pearl of Days (London, 1848), p.28.
28. Sunday Afternoons at Home, second edition (London, 1847), p.x.
29. Sundays (London, 1858), pp. 4, 5.
30. R.H. Baynes, ed., Illustrated Book of Sacred Poems (London, 1867), p.2.
31. [Agnes Giberne], Sunday Afternoons with Mamma (London, [c.1865]), pp. 3-4, 6.
32. Victorian Scrutinies: Reviews of Poetry 1830-1870 (London, 1972), p.6.
33. John Bowring, Matins and Vespers (London, 1823, fourth ed., 1851), Preface.
34. Christian's Penny Magazine (August 1851), 215.
35. The Soul's Welfare (March 1852) 57-59, (p.57).
36. Religious Trends in English Poetry, IV, 529.

37. James Page, Protestant Ballads (London, 1852), p.vii.
38. Prospectus (London, 1847), p.3.
39. See Susan S. Tamke for a development of this idea in the realm of children's hymns, in 'Hymns for Children: Cultural Imperialism in Victorian England', Victorian Newsletter (Spring 1976), 18-22.
40. From the hymn beginning 'Heaven is of souls the native sphere.'

II : THE READING - A SURVEY

CHAPTER 3: SUNDAY VERSE - CHARACTERISTICS AND TYPES

*If song for converse, Lord, with Thee,
Can matchless aid impart,
How dear, how sacred song should be
To every christian heart!*

*And who that knows and seeks that aid
But owns its mystic might;
And still, when cares the breast invade,
Finds song put cares to flight?*

(Thomas Davis, Introductory Verses,
Songs for the Suffering (1859))

I. CHARACTERISTICS

The previous chapter has endeavoured to show the social and literary context within which Sunday verse was written, published and read. This chapter now turns to a survey of that verse, and attempts to define the major characteristics of the Sunday poets and the principal types of verse. The emphasis here is on the Victorians' view of the role of verse as a vehicle of religious communication.

Although most readily characterized by its superficial features of earnestness and simplicity of expression, Sunday verse cannot be defined in terms of a simple single role or type. The words of Davis quoted above point to two important aspects of pious verse - its enabling facility as a means of discourse with God and its consolatory power. These generic features of the writing do not totally isolate it from other verse of the period. Striving after truth was as much the goal of Tennyson as any of the Sunday poets. Tennyson's early conception of the poet owed much to Romanticism, and reflected the prevailing attitudes of his period. For Tennyson, the poet 'sings of what the world will be/When the years have died away' ('The Poet's Song', 1842). A generation later, critical attitudes towards Tennyson emphasized his role as laureate truth-teller. The anonymous writer of

'The Creed of the Poets' in the Christian Advocate and Review claimed that 'we look for something still nobler in one who is so great a poet, and should be, therefore, a nation's truest teacher.'¹

There are effectively three major aspects of Sunday verse that are most obviously characteristic, and each is to some extent dependent on the other two: didacticism, conservatism and accessibility.

(i) Didacticism

Sunday verse, especially that directed at children or newly-literate adults, was emphatically didactic, and its didacticism was closely related to the mnemonic power of verse. It did not merely teach the elements of Christianity, it also taught ways of reading, especially in relation to the Scriptures. Additionally, it offered instruction on how to behave and how to feel. Religious, moral and social imperatives were closely intertwined.

S.R. Piggott claimed that 'no kind of composition has more influence over the mind than Poetry, and is, therefore, a very successful method of teaching Scripture truths.- Hence, how large a portion of the Holy Scriptures is poetical.'² There was repeated allusion in editorial comments to the poetic nature of the scriptures themselves: the religious text was responded to in part as verse. John Johnstone, an anthologist, maintained that 'the origin of all poetry that deserves the name is religion.'³

The assistance metrical composition gave to learning was a point often reiterated by writers and editors:

My object in the following pages is to present as concise, clear, and faithful a narration of ecclesiastical facts to the reader's mind as I am able to convey through the medium of metre, which form of composition I have adopted from its proverbial power of impressing itself upon the memory.⁴

This made verse 'a most attractive and powerful means of conveying instruction' as James Ford observed.⁵ Similarly, the editor of The Rosebud: a Christian Gift to the Young (1853) saw that this collection contained verse as well as prose, 'not merely to please the fancy, but to teach in an agreeable and attractive way some lessons of truth and duty.'⁶ An 1854 collection of hymns for Sunday Schools, published by the Nottingham Sunday School Union, asserted that

the harmony of rhyme is particularly calculated to engage the attention of youth; and truths conveyed to the mind through this medium, not only are more readily listened to, but are also more easily committed to the memory, and more lastingly impressed upon it. Teaching by hymns is, perhaps, the best mode of conveying and impressing divine truths on the youthful mind.⁷

Edward Farr similarly believed that this early teaching had a lasting value: 'it is universally felt, that the truths which poetry imparts to the youthful mind, are of the utmost value, and that the memory retains them permanently.'⁸

Moral and didactic elements were expected in all poets, so in this respect the Sunday versifiers had something in common with the literary establishment. The work of major contemporary figures, such as Tennyson, could thus be found in the context of Sunday reading. In this context, the verse was valued for its pious content rather than its artistry. Established literary figures of earlier periods were similarly popular; a number of the seventeenth century poets, especially George Herbert, figured frequently in anthologies, reprints and periodicals. Donne is an exception: he was not accorded any attention. The Victorian attitude towards the metaphysicals was generally dismissive of their characteristic features of style. Even Herbert drew adverse responses in this respect. An article in Sunday

at Home, prompted by the exhibition of a portrait at the Royal Academy, recorded a typical response:

Herbert's poems have of late years been frequently reprinted, yet the larger portion of them are too obscure to be popular, too full of the conceits and quaintness which the poets of his age loved to affect to be fully appreciated in ours. A beautiful thought is often spoilt by its proximity to a grotesque allusion, an exquisite fancy is marred by some repulsive metaphor; ... in spite of these defects, there is so much that is thoughtful and suggestive, so much sententious wisdom and earnest piety in the poems, that they will well repay the labour of perusal. Scattered here and there throughout the volume we find stanzas which might almost have been written by a living poet, so free are they from crudities in word or thought... . The practical wisdom of Herbert's poetry is indeed one of its most striking characteristics. It is full of pithy sayings and texts for thinkers.⁹

'Sententious wisdom', 'earnest piety', 'sayings' and 'texts' are very much the province of Sunday verse. (A similar reaction to Quarles' poems is recorded in Chapter 5.) There is no indication of Herbert's consummate artistry here, and it is in formal matters that a major distinction lies between the established poets and Sunday versifiers.

(ii) Conservatism

Experimentation with form is not to be looked for in Sunday verse, which is similarly conservative in range of language and imagery. Although examples of most verse forms can be found, it is the simple quatrain that is most common. This is not at all surprising in view of its links with folk verse, through the ballad. Sunday versifiers were seldom highly literary in their aspirations, and the immediacy of the quatrain served their purpose well. Few possessed the formal skills of Tennyson or Herbert, but many were able to command the medium of verse sufficiently to satisfy the needs of simple religious communication - as Davis (see p.51) later in his verses noted, 'And there be humbler harps on earth/That yet wake joys divine.'

One such 'humbler harp' was Henry Hogg, whose Songs for the Times (1856) was dedicated to the Young Men's Christian Association. In his dedicatory verses Hogg summed up the position in which the faithful found themselves at this point in the century:

We live in times when subtle snares are set
To lure us from the sturdy faith of old;
When men are forging doctrines counterfeit,
As tho' they sprang from God's eternal mould.

Doctrines of Devils, by which age and youth
Reel from the path wherein our fathers trod;
Vain specious creeds, that prove the Bible truth, -
The world, with all her wisdom, knows not God.

There may well be an underlying element of reassurance found in the metrical familiarity of common verse forms for writers like Hogg. Iambic measures come most readily to the English writer, and the influence of ballads and hymns ensured a link with predominantly tetrameter verse (though here Hogg uses the more literary pentameter). Readily recognized conventional biblical imagery and a simple repetitive style similarly provided reassurance, especially for the less literate. Some writers accepted lack of originality as implicit in the writing of such verse, which appealed to and derived from an established biblical discourse, but, like John Bowring, did not mind this charge: 'I have not sought to be original. To be useful is my first ambition.'¹⁰ There is in this attitude a guide to the accessibility of Sunday verse: lack of originality is no bar to writers, thus such versifying is attractively inviting for the novice.

(iii) Accessibility

Some writers obviously felt that poetry was simply more approachable than certain types of prose. J.P. Shorthouse believed that

there are some of the lighter cast of minds, who will take up and read a volume of verses, when they will turn away from formal essays, sermons, lectures, and such like productions; and if, by this means, their mind's eye may catch a ray of the light of truth, or a glimpse of its glory, the labour will not have been in vain.¹¹

Straightforward, indeed familiar language, with its biblical echoes, made a major contribution to the accessibility of Sunday verse, and of course this feature assisted in the didactic use of the verse. The simplest language is obviously found in verse for young children, but apart from a tendency to the monosyllabic in writing for the very young, the range of language is remarkably similar for adults. The power of verse as vehicle is summed up by Richard Brudenell Exton: 'It is known and generally admitted, that the same matter in poetical arrangement has a quicker and more durable influence on the mind than prose compositions, however important the subjects.'¹²

Verse, then, was viewed by the mid-Victorians as accessible, memorable, suitably dignified as a vehicle for religious teaching, and closely allied to the scriptures themselves. Rosman stresses the general acceptability of verse as reading matter among those for whom much imaginative literature was regarded as unsuitable: 'Descriptive poetry was unlikely to instil immoral ideas or to inflame the passions. On the contrary since the study of nature was a means of grace, it could be used to stir devotion.'¹³ Presumably strict Calvinist sects would have been excluded from this sort of devotional

exercise.

It is evident that in religious verse - for both writers and readers - the form had a specific persuasive function, which variously extended and reinforced religious knowledge, assisted understanding, was an aid to devotion and a soothing support. Where truth in secular verse was somewhat elusive and abstract, it took on a greater specificity in religious verse. Mid-Victorian poets of all kinds united in their dedication to truth, but in Sunday verse the elements of that truth were already defined - as Henry Hogg's lines quoted above (p.55) suggest. It thus appears that the Victorian religious poet was more of a truth teller than a truth seeker. This is compatible with the religious poet's appropriation of an existing language, in terms of scriptural influence, traditional imagery and typological reference. Exploration was of the familiar essentially, although paradoxically this familiar material attempted to engage with the unknown.

The Christian truths propagated in this way were not essentially different from those of earlier centuries. In the mid-Victorian period, there was perhaps a reassuring sense of security gained from the recognition of such truth in a world becoming increasingly secular in emphasis. To a large extent the consolatory power of pious verse derived from the reassuring truths it offered in a world beset by doubt. However, Sunday verse did not exclude doubt - it embraced it, because it was able to transcend it.

The sheer volume of publications containing religious verse in the mid-Victorian period would suggest that there was little support for Dr Johnson's view, that 'poetical devotion cannot often please.'¹⁴ Indeed, John Keble, author of one of the most frequently re-published volumes of 'poetical devotion' in this period, the Christian Year

(1827), gave specific reasons for rejecting Johnson's views in his early essay on 'Sacred Poetry' (1825). Keble agreed with Johnson that 'all perfection is implied in the Name of God' but asked his readers 'is it not the very office of poetry to develope [sic] and display the particulars of such complex ideas?' He then offered the biblical example of the 139th psalm as an exploration of the idea of God's omnipresence.¹⁵ Though writing a generation earlier, Keble would seem to speak for many mid-Victorian writers of verse, who wished to communicate the complexities of religion through simply grasped images and directness of language, making an intuitive appeal to the imagination and emotions, rather than the intellect.

II : TYPES

(i) *The Bible - Old Testament*

The dependence on the Bible for source material is obviously one major factor contributing to lack of originality. It is, of course, true that source material need not itself impose unoriginality, but as Sunday versifiers seldom reached far above mediocrity, their innate lack of originality was heightened by dependence on the familiar. It was not, however, merely in its provision of subject matter that the Bible was a stimulus: it was an important link between poetry and religion - a point implicit in Keble's example of the 139th psalm. The anonymous editor of Hymns and Anthems Adjusted to the Church Services Throughout the Year (1851) emphasized this link. The writer saw an essential difference between poetry and prose, in that prose was 'the chosen and characteristic channel of thought and reason' whilst poetry was the channel of 'feeling and imagination.' The writer elaborates on this distinction:

That all true poetry, though it does not of necessity ally itself to metre, and still less to rhyme, has yet a tendency to subside into a certain melodious rhythm, the Sacred Volume affords the most interesting and familiar proofs.¹⁶

A similar point was made by William Henry Charlton, vicar of Felmingham, Norfolk: 'that poetry itself is not only a perfectly legitimate, but a divinely sanctioned means of communicating scriptural instruction, we need only refer to the Scriptures themselves to testify.'¹⁷ This 'divinely sanctioned' means of communication became in the hands of the Sunday poets a vehicle for explication, and enlargement of imaginative understanding of religion.

In the period under review, poetic treatment of the Bible ranged widely across both Old and New Testaments, and the Prayer Book, too, provided stimulus for verse. The Old Testament prompted much of the versifying. The Book of Psalms was probably the most fertile ground for endeavour: in this period there were numerous volumes that reprinted metrical versions, or provided new versions, both metrical and non-metrical. The 'layman' who published the Book of Psalms, Translated into English Verse (1853) felt that the psalms provided 'singular adaptation not only to all the vicissitudes of life, but to the varied and most secret operations of the human soul.'¹⁸ This variety is reflected in the range of verse forms used, such as the fourteen syllable rhymed couplets by E.A. Bowring, in The Most Holy Book of Psalms Literally Rendered into English Verse (1858). Bowring chose his metre to accommodate 'all the changing circumstances and all the varied emotions set forth in the course of the Psalms.'¹⁹ The Christian view of the Bible as encompassing all aspects of secular life, in the truths it had to offer, was thus typically reflected in Sunday verse, with its adopted task of re-discovering and

re-interpreting these universal truths in an accessible manner.

Translations and paraphrases of the other conspicuously 'poetic' books - the Song of Solomon and the Book of Job - were also undertaken. Between 1851 and 1860 there were two complete versions of the Song of Solomon, by the same hand. The first edition, published in 1853, was described simply as 'translated into English verse', and written in the familiar quatrains of metrical psalmody. The second edition was very thoroughly revised, and announced itself as A Metrical Translation of the Song of Solomon, from the Original Hebrew, Compared with the Ancient Versions (1858). The anonymous poet has chosen here to adopt a six-line stanza, rhyming aabccb. (A fuller discussion of the two versions appears in Chapter 9.)

The Earl of Winchilsea's The Poem of the Book of Job Done into English Verse (1860) was written in ballad metre, with the effect of changing the tone of the biblical version:

There lived within the land of Uz
A man, and Job his name,
Perfect and upright, one who fear'd
His God, and eschew'd shame. ²⁰

This appears much weaker in impact when set beside the Authorized Version's opening.* The metrical padding of 'within' and 'His' weakens the impact of the biblical version, and 'shame' is also very different from 'evil'.

* There was a man in the land of Uz whose name was Job; and that man was perfect and upright, and one that feared God, and eschewed evil.

The price of this volume - a ten shilling publication from Smith and Elder - reflects the pretensions of the writer. This expensive item could only be afforded by the wealthiest readers, and was likely to have a small (and possibly unprofitable) print-run.²¹ However, the costliness of this volume shows the social range of readers of this type of verse.

The major narratives of the Old Testament were popular choices for verse treatment for the whole range of readership. Often these versions were designed for children. Approaches were frequently typological. James Martin's 'David and Goliath' from The Biblical Lyre (1857) serves to illustrate a number of features characteristic of this type of writing. The poem opens with a general exhortation to thankfulness for God's 'wonders':

To God, Jehovah, praise is due
For all deliverance brought;
Let all their grateful thanks renew,
For all his wonders wrought.

The reader is then asked to consider a particular case:

Look on the mighty flying host
Of Israel's frightened foes,
And learn how vain in power to boast,
If God but interpose.

This lesson is fully demonstrated by the following account of the 'shepherd youth' and his success against Goliath, ascribed to the fact that David 'for strength on God relies.' The concluding verse draws out the implications of this example:

Thus David typifies his Lord,
Who vanquished every foe,
And gave his gospel's gracious word,
For all our race to know. ²²

This typological paralleling was common in the concluding stages of these Old Testament narratives, and the overall structure is very familiar, having much in common with the sermon. The biblical text is established (in verse this is often achieved in the title and/or an appended reference), then a prayerful opening gives way to narrative example, punctuated by firm didactic guidelines to enable full understanding of the moral and spiritual significance of the subject. Finally comes the pointing towards the New Testament, and the Christian significance of these events. Thus the reader was initiated into a method of reading, depending on an imaginative and often a metaphorical response. There is an interesting two-way process at work here: the poem has little meaning without the biblical source to give it significance. Equally, the poem is acknowledging that the biblical text may need explication in order to be fully understood, and for the truth to be recognized.

In a poem entitled 'Genesis, chap.28', C.P. outlines the life of Jacob up to his dream of the ladder, and the poem concludes:

Christ is the ladder of the soul,
On which it may depend;
Whoever has steadfast hold,
Needs fear not to ascend.

Oh, may I this ladder climb,
And step by step ascend;
Cleave to my Saviour all divine -
On Him alone depend.²³

Whilst using the same typological method as James Martin, C.P. offers an important difference in tone. Martin adopts an authoritarian, didactic stance towards the reader, presented through the second person voice: 'Look on...and learn.' There is a suggestion throughout the poem that he is in a superior state of knowledge and

understanding, in spite of the 'all' in the first verse. By contrast, C.P. moves from impersonal narrative to the first person prayerful 'may I...cleave to my Saviour.' This is a measure of the individual's response to the Scriptures, as the rest of this volume testifies. The response is essentially private, although, paradoxically it is made public by the act of publication. However, there is no attempt here to badger the reader. The value of the experience is left implicit.

These two different attitudes represent two major modes in individuals' verse collections: the reader merely overhears C.P., and thus forms a more intimate relation with the piece, whereas she or he is, as it were, a member of the congregation for Martin.

(ii) The Bible - New Testament

The life of Christ was frequently treated in the pious verse of the mid-Victorian period, far less contentiously than was the case in prose works. It was George Eliot's translation from the German of D.F. Strauss's Life of Jesus (London, 1846) that furthered the cause of higher criticism in England, with its emphasis on the lack of historical credibility of the Gospels. Jesus the man was provable; Jesus the Son of God was not. In concluding his study, Strauss commented that

piety turns away with horror from so fearful an act of desecration, and strong in the impregnable self-evidence of its faith, pronounces that, let an audacious criticism attempt what it will, all which the Scriptures declare...will still subsist as eternal truth.²⁴

Such a reaction to attack was indeed very much what the religious verse of this period offered: a simple affirmation of resolute faith.

Two volumes dedicated to the presentation of a full account of Christ's life in verse appeared in the 1850s: Henry Stebbing's Jesus: a Poem in Six Books (1851) and Timothy Hathaway's Gospel Melodies: or

Short Chronological Portraits of Our Saviour in Verse (1856). John Ritchie followed part of the story of Jesus, from crucifixion to ascension, in The Crucifixion: A Poem in Twelve Books (1852), written in rhyming couplets with an eighteenth century ring. What links all these volumes is their uncritical acceptance of the biblical accounts. Stebbing acknowledged disbelief, only to reject it as folly:

Others there are of still a darker mood,
And to whose ears the name of Jesus sounds
As but some vain and boastful title claimed,
In ages fraught with folly, for their God.
Alas for them, and for the homes of such! 25

Hathaway's work was 'chiefly intended for the rising generation', and he was of the predominant school of thought that believed verse a valuable educative medium: 'truths, conveyed in easy verse, are calculated to produce a deeper impression on the youthful mind than when expressed in mere prose.'²⁶ These uncontested 'truths' are offered with an element of commentary. He writes of the Last Supper:

Without believing, we can find
No real virtue in the signs. 27

Stebbing's work falls into a more reflective than didactic mode; he acknowledges that his is a partial history, dependent upon his subjective response to 'such circumstances in his [the Saviour's] history as have most vividly influenced my imagination.'²⁸ Certainly it is noticeable that the particularly imaginative and poetic sections of the Bible provided much of the source material for the poets.

The parables of Christ were frequent topics in individual poems in the verse collections, and Julia Maynard published a complete volume, Eight of Our Lord's Parables Paraphrased (1858). The representational nature of the parable has a natural affinity with a manner of writing

that depends a good deal on figurative and formal devices. Maynard adorned her version of 'Wheat and Tares' (based on Matthew 13. 24-30) with vivid elaboration of the biblical account, which is presented in spare, simple statements: 'The kingdom of heaven is likened unto a man which sowed good seed in his field: But while men slept, his enemy came and sowed tares among the wheat, and went away.' Maynard projects the reader into the scene, a particular place at a particular time:

While the broad sun shone in the sky,
The distance glow'd in purple haze;
The furrow'd earth, with eagle eye,
The sower view'd with earnest gaze.

The goodly seed, unmix'd and sound,
He scatter'd with unsparing hand, -
With moisture reek'd the fertile ground,
The richest acres in the land.

Purged of low weedlings tangled growth,
Unfetter'd crop he hoped would rise; -
No poppy blooms with drowsing sloth,
To check his full-ear'd harvest prize.

But soon the shades of evening fell -
Pale stars arose - the sower slept;-
A foeman sow'd the tares of hell,
Whilst the night dews in sorrow wept. 29

The setting is elaborated, and the phrase 'tares of hell' neatly advances the interpretation of the parable, with its allusion to the Last Judgement, reflected in the gospel account by the tares being 'burnt', the wheat housed in 'my barn'. There may be considered a gain here in imaginative vividness; the negative side of this quality is the danger of over-writing what is essentially simple and direct. The reader is not left with the phrase 'tares of hell' alone to make its point, but offered a fully described statement of the hell/heaven alternatives in the closing stages of the poem:

Down to the pit of endless woe -
 To burning flame they soon shall sink,
 Where no pure streams of water flow,
 Where thirsting lips might haply drink.

But Faith's pale martyrs then shall rise,
 And glow like suns in heaven's domain,
 With shining feet and beaming eyes,
 For ever with the Lamb to reign. ³⁰

After sixteen verses, the reader may be left feeling there is some virtue in the simplicity of the Matthew version. However, the function of the poem would seem to be rather different. It is designed to stimulate the imagination, to reinforce rather than simply present the lesson offered by Christ in the parable. It is a clear example of poetry designed to entertain as well as instruct, to engage the feelings and thereby enlarge understanding.

(iii) The Liturgy

That verse was seen as both an enjoyable and an efficient teaching vehicle is further emphasized by its use to paraphrase or expound the liturgy. James Ford, a prebendary of Exeter Cathedral, produced a modest pamphlet publication entitled Prayer-Book Rhymes, or the Order for Morning Prayer Explained in Verse (1853). He justified his use of verse:

Prayer-Book Rhymes may excite an interest in some minds, which an ordinary tract on the subject has failed to produce; and Poetry, even in its most humble garb, may prove in this, as it has often done in matters of infinitely less consequence, a most attractive and powerful means of conveying instruction. ³¹

The volume was 'designed for Parochial use, especially among our poorer brethren', and it is to these readers that the careful explication seems addressed. The work is designed as a series of poems (using a variety of forms) paraphrasing each part of the Order for

Morning Prayer. These poems are linked by a commentary in rhyming couplets, clearly explaining the meaning and purpose of each element in the service. This commentary is printed in smaller type, enabling the reader to focus on the service without commentary if required.

On bended knee now priest and people fall,
The same Confession marks the sins of all...

The Confession

Father of might and mercy, we have stray'd
From Thy right ways, and, like lost sheep, have err'd;
Our hearts' desires we have too much obey'd,
And to Thy will our own bad lusts preferr'd...

The Priest stands up, the Ambassador of heaven,
Hark! he proclaims God's Absolution given;
The people, but in silence, still must kneel,
And O! what ardent longings should they feel
Now to receive in peace sweet pardon's seal...³²

The final triplet rhyme points the essential elements of the experience - 'kneel/feel/seal'. A further triplet follows with much the same kind of effect - 'bless/confess/righteousness'. The Absolution poem that follows moves into blank verse. The constant variation of form helps to focus the reader's attention on the subject, by never allowing over-familiarity with one form to lead to an inattentive reading. The verse here effectively directs the position of the addressee, offering both instruction and explication, as well as a version of the liturgical text. In miniature, this extract offers a glimpse of the dogmatic method of much Sunday verse, even to the point of directing the feelings of the congregation at this stage in the service: 'what ardent longings should they feel.'

The success of this explicitly didactic undertaking can be deduced from its re-publication, in slightly revised form, on a larger scale in 1858, under the title Steps to the Sanctuary, published by Macmillan at 2s 6d. (The first edition was published by Whitaker, and

the poem had also appeared - anonymously - in two parts in The Churchman in 1853.) The extra pages in this volume are devoted to elaborate notes, clearly aimed at a more sophisticated reader than the one for whom the volume was originally designed, and indeed, according to the preliminary Notice, to whom this publication was still directed:

No person can have mixed much with the poorer classes in our land without observing their great fondness for rhymes, such as are here offered them. Perhaps we do not avail ourselves to the extent we might of this predilection on their part, in our endeavours to communicate to them useful knowledge.

Such a comment explicitly relates simple literacy with pious verse, and implies that such verse is a tool in extending that literacy.

The most familiar part of the liturgy, the Lord's Prayer, was its most frequently versified element. Versions ranged from simple paraphrase, such as Ford provided in his volume, to reflective approaches, which provided meditations on each phrase in the prayer, as found in W.H. Charlton's Sonnets, Sacred and Miscellaneous (1854). H.G. Adams offered a less sophisticated approach to that afforded by the sonnet form: in his New Testament Verses (1857) he varied the verse forms, but favoured couplets or simple quatrains. His volume was intended for the younger reader, dedicated to 'my little daughter'.

All the foregoing examples show writers making a very obvious and sustained use of biblical or liturgical source material. There was also much verse that simply took a brief biblical text and reflected or elaborated on the idea it contained. Such poems generally quote the verse or verses as part of the title. Matilda Bassett makes her source conspicuous in the title of her collection, Bible Gleanings (1851).

She demonstrates in 'Speak Lord, for Thy Servant Heareth: 1 Samuel iii, 9' how a specific text can lead into a generalized application to life. The first verse makes the connexion:

Thus spake the gentle youth,
 Commanded by the Seer;
 Thus will we say, with truth,
 'Speak, Lord, and we will hear.' 33

The remaining eleven verses of the poem urge the Lord to 'speak' through a variety of voices, chiefly from the world of nature: 'in the forest trees'; 'in the flow'ret small'; 'in the torrent's force'; 'in the birds of song'. As the poem concludes, the earlier reminders of mortality in the world of nature - 'with'ring petals', for example, 'apt type of early tombs' - are brought into human focus:

Speak, in the vault and tomb,
 And in the passing bell, ...

Speak, in the mourner's sob
 And the survivor's sigh. 34

The cumulative effect of the poem is to show man learning to accept the inevitable cycle of life, becoming at one with the world of nature in passive acceptance of the Creator's will.

(iv) Nature

A significant proportion of Sunday verse was concerned with nature. In part this can be associated with the influence both of natural theology and the Romantic poets, though the emphasis is more precisely Christian. For the Romantics, nature was of value for itself and God was rather a divine immanence than an active creator, whereas the Victorian Sunday poets, especially those of the Anglican persuasion, thought of nature as evidence of divine creation, as did their eighteenth century forebears, transcending man.

From all Creation swells a ceaseless song
 Of many mingled voices, one in praise, -
 The creature's glad acknowledgment [sic] of God ...
 And was it not in goodness and in love
 That God made all this beauty, - that he gave
 The power to know it, and enjoy it all? ³⁵

Thus the created world prompts prayer, praise and thanksgiving.
 The benevolent natural world was frequently taken by Sunday poets as
 splendid proof of God's goodness, as epitomized in C.F. Alexander's
 'All things bright and beautiful.' Such a world was well suited to
 offering a consoling image of stability and regulation in a context
 where chaos threatened. The beauty of the natural world becomes a pale
 reflection of heaven itself:

O God! O good beyond compare!
 If thus Thy meaner works are fair,
 If thus Thy bounties gild the span
 Of ruin'd earth, and sinful man,
 How glorious must the mansion be,
 Where Thy redeem'd shall dwell with Thee! ³⁶

A similar idea runs through 'My Home' by Robert Frame:

... Earth may not satisfy my soul,
 Its tinsel glare
 But makes me pant to reach that goal,
 Serene and fair,
 Where peace and love the air perfume,
 Where an eternal summer's bloom,
 And joy and gladness banish gloom -
 There is my home.

Fair streams and meads I now behold
 In bright array,
 And beauteous flowers their charms unfold,
 But to decay;
 Where streams of crystal onward flow,
 Where fadeless flowers in beauty grow,
 And streets of gold in splendour glow -
 There is my home. ³⁷

Whilst the benevolent aspects of the natural world were brought into question by contemporary geological studies - a dilemma for the believer perhaps best epitomized in Tennyson's In Memoriam - little of this disturbance to faith finds its way into the natural world of the Sunday poets. For them God frequently speaks through nature, as is demonstrated by Marianne Farningham's 'The Voice of the Trees':

They are God's temples, and they all speak solemnly of Him,
Throughout the day's majestic reign, or in the twilight dim.
'Tis well to gather 'neath their roof, and 'mid their organ-peal,
To breathe the deep emotion which our burdened spirits feel.
'Tis well to listen for God's voice upon our bended knees, -
To take, as from His kindly hand, the teaching of the trees.³⁸

Here the trees are virtually deputising for God, simultaneously becoming a means of communication with him for the faithful believer.

F.S. Pierpoint's 'The Chalice of Nature' emphasizes a sacramental approach to the natural world in its total dependence on God the Creator:

We are drinking the nectar of Beauty,
The Beauty that filleth up
The mighty chalice of Nature,
Her everlasting cup.

The nectar that God Almighty,
The Mercy, the great All-love,
Gives to his earthly children
To lift their thoughts above.

Gaze on the heaven above thee,
And gaze on the earth below,
And quaff deep draughts of the beauty
That through God's works doth flow.

... Creation is full of Godhead,
And Godhead dwelleth there;
For God is the Love and the Beauty
And the Soul of all things fair. ³⁹

Here nature is a means of raising man's 'thoughts above', and thus it provides a direct route to God and heaven.

(v) *Consolation*

Another noticeable emphasis in these collections of verse is the avowed view that 'sacred songs have proved a solace to the sorrowful, and a comfort to the weary.'⁴⁰ The consolatory poem is a common type, and the most obvious application of such verse was in bereavement, as acknowledged by Hugh White in The Invalid's Hymn-Book (Dublin, 12th thousand, 1854): 'the soothing influence of sacred poetry, when it breathes the spirit of Scriptural piety, has been felt and acknowledged by many a mourner in Zion.'⁴¹ Many volumes derive directly from a particular loss, such as The Child and the Angel (Edinburgh, [c.1860]), dedicated by the anonymous writer 'To My Sister, for whose comfort this simple ballad was written.' The poem that follows is about the death of a child, and an angel receives him into heaven. 'If thou couldst only see/My bliss' cries the child, 'thou wouldst not weep.' Ultimately the mother is calmed by her faith. Margaret Mackay sounds the keynote of her volume "Thoughts Redeemed" or Lays of Leisure Hours [1854] in the first poem, 'Asleep in Jesus', in which death is seen as the entry to eternal life. She designed her collection for 'the chambers of sickness and sorrow',⁴² as did Stuart Alexander in Life's Phantoms [1855] in which he presented 'the only antidote to family bereavement - the assurance of a blessed immortality through a risen Saviour.'⁴³

M.A. Kelty emphasized the part that memorized verses could play 'in seasons of trial', when 'many agitated feelings...may be, in this manner, greatly soothed.'⁴⁴ For Jane Borthwick, in Thoughts for Thoughtful Hours (1859), such consolations derived from God:

In the dreary house of mourning,
 In the darkened room of pain,
 If we listen meekly, rightly,
 We may catch that soothing strain. ⁴⁵

Benjamin Richings, the editor of Flowers of Sacred Poetry, an anthology published in 1854, claimed that poetry

has a tendency, by its own intrinsic excellence, to purify and exalt the affections...religious Poetry - the Poetry of the Bible, the sublimest of all poetical compositions, has been found the greatest consolation in old age. ⁴⁶

Consolation seems to be achieved in part by means of the reassuring promises of Christianity, especially life hereafter, and in part by means of the soothing nature of the regular verses so characteristic of this type of writing. 'That soothing strain' is a key-note of Sunday verse. The anonymous editor of Light in Life's Shadows pointed out that the collection appealed 'to the sympathies of a large class.'⁴⁷ Indeed, every level of society was made equal in the facts of loss and suffering.

(vi) *Sectarianism*

Sometimes writers used the verse for sectarian purposes - here the mode may be attacking rather than merely affirmative. Martin Tupper's pamphlet, Half-a-dozen No-Popery Ballads (1851), adopts a scathing tone:

With tinsel and tallow no dolls we adore,
 We kneel to no wafer, - that made us;
 We bank not with Saints for their canonized store
 Of merits, as cash, to be paid us! ⁴⁸

Tupper here reflects the pronounced anti-Catholic attitude at this date, and sounds a sharply contrasting note to the more generally soothing tones of Sunday verse, a combative note that recurs

especially in sectarian periodical verse. Sectarianism was not, however, merely anti-papal sentiment. On the side of the Roman church, Matthew Bridges, a convert to Catholicism, offered The Passion of Jesus (1852), which aimed to enlighten readers about the 'Mysteries of the Rosary', as these, according to Bridges, had been 'misrepresented or ridiculed' by Protestants.⁴⁹ Dissent within the Anglican church is reflected in the subtitle of William Peace's collection, The Christian Conflict: A Poem (1852) - 'The Tractarian Heresy, the Spiritual Leprosy of the Nineteenth Century.'

Much of the verse was less stridently sectarian, but it often bore signs of the particular branch of the church favoured by the writer. Anglican verse, such as may be represented by R.H. Baynes's popular anthology, Lyra Anglicana (1870),⁵⁰ shows a clear dependence on scriptural sources (see Ada Cambridge, 'The Crown of Thorns' (p.6); C.L. Ford, 'The Grave at Bethany' (p.57)), an emphasis on church festivals (C.F. Alexander, 'Hymn for Advent' and 'Hymn for Epiphany' (pp.46-48), H. Bonar, 'Hymn for Easter' (p.49)); the sacraments (C.F. Alexander 'Communion Hymn' (p.149)), and the resurrection (A.L. Waring, 'The Resurrection of the Body' (p.160)). A comparatively restrained tone predominates. There is thus much to connect Victorian Anglican verse with its eighteenth century antecedents, in its emphasis upon the central concerns of the church.⁵¹

By contrast, nonconformist verse, such as is found in Marianne Farningham's Lays and Lyrics of the Blessed Life (1860) was less restrained, more emotional, more missionary in tone, and conveyed more obviously the sense of man as a guilty, sinful creature:

What has sin done? Hear the stifled moan
Of the wretched outcast, sad and lone!
See the darkened stain on the youthful brow,

Not bright, and fair, and cloudless now:
 See the vice and squalor in wretched homes,
 And the breaking hearts beneath lofty domes.

But grace is given. What has it done?
 It has cheered the lone, forsaken one;
 It has raised the fallen to life and light;
 It has made the darkened pathway bright:
 'Tis peopling heaven with the saved and free,
 And scattering joy from sea to sea! ⁵²

The characteristic movement from despair and sin to grace and redemption is clearly reflected and reinforced by the imagery.

III : CONCLUSION

The pious verse anthology draws together most of the common characteristics and types of this writing. Beauties of Modern Sacred Poetry (Aberdeen, 1852), edited by William McCombie, demonstrates a characteristic interweaving of biblical, moral and reflective material, with a section on the life of Christ preceding the section on the Old Testament; reflective verse (The Sea, Music, Philosophy) is then interpolated before turning to the Second Coming and the Day of Judgement. In addition there are familiar thematic areas such as hymn collections often covered: bereavement, marriage, martyrdom, consolation.

McCombie offers some thoughts on definitions in his 'Prefatory Note' to the anthology. He sees verse in hierarchical terms, with nature poetry as the lowest poetic activity, requiring 'but the poetic vision and some creditable culture in the use of human speech.' Above this skill comes the 'successful poet of life and of the social relations' who must add 'moral culture' to his requirements. Finally, to be 'successful as the poet of religious emotions, demands, not only the poetic vision and moral culture, but the vital act of religion in the soul'. For McCombie the value of 'Sacred Poetry' lies in the fact

that it addresses itself 'to the quickening and expansion of the religious emotions' which are 'the highest and most important vital forces of our nature.' Accordingly, he claims, 'we find a large portion of the Scriptures made up of spiritual poetry.' ⁵³

With so much emphasis on inspirational and practical aspects it might be expected that the actual volumes produced for Sunday reading would be suitably sober in presentation, functional merely. However, the 'beautiful volume' was as frequent in this area of publishing as elsewhere. An anthology, particularly, was likely to be offered as a physically attractive product. The anonymous editor of Sacred Gems Ancient and Modern (Edinburgh, 1853) admitted that the collection was 'certainly meant to attract' but added that 'it is not less designed to profit', and he explained that the editorial aim had been to produce something which

while admired in the drawing-room, may be mused over in the closet, - something that may not only be pleasant to the eye, but may be fruitful in holy living, quickening and comforting us in the service of Him to whom we owe all service and praise. ⁵⁴

This comparatively expensive volume (8s) is indeed attractively designed; each page has a decorative single-coloured border, changing design and colour on each double spread. It is essentially a middle-class product, emphasising the social range of the appeal of such verse. The aims of this collection, however, were common to many much humbler compilations.

Individuals' volumes were more private in tone than anthologies, if only by virtue of issuing from a single voice. However, the private address of most religious verse has a public dimension in sociological terms, with its aim to instil Christian principles. It is evident that the more public congregational hymn reflects the desire to extend

these Christian principles on a large scale, thereby creating a disciplined life for both individual and group.

Although much of the material surveyed is by middle-class writers for middle-class readers, there are sufficient examples to remind us that verse is chosen as a medium that will have a wide appeal. As Barton Bouchier noted in Solace in Sickness and Sorrow (1856): 'it has occurred within the knowledge of the compiler that there are those who will read hymns, but who turn away from the Bible, as a book.'⁵⁵ It is, however, the Bible that is seen as the common agent underlying the social diversity of the writers and readers of such verse. Jane Dewhurst explains in her collection, The Sabbath, and Other Poems (1856), that she 'has not had a liberal education, and for what is written has had recourse to the Bible alone, in which, blessed be God, she has been instructed from her youth.'⁵⁶ A further example of the extended social range of Sunday writers and readers is afforded by the collection Gleanings for the Humble (1852), in which E.M. Nodder addresses the question 'Why do I write' in her first poem of that title:

Why do I write? Ah! would that I could tell
The meaning of this restlessness I feel;
Some secret impulse I cannot explore,
Prompts me to write, and asks no earthly store.

Why do I write? Not for the hope of fame,
For sure the scholar would discard my name;
So poor in worldly rank - and then withal,
Illiterate in what they learning call.

Still I must write - tho' children yet unborn,
May jesting speak, or rudely read with scorn;
There yet are humble minds, lovers of muse,
And they may not my humble thoughts refuse.

I'll take my Bible, and for them I'll write -
Nor shall I lack a subject to indite:
And tho' no hero's fame my pages grace,
A greater offers, e'en the Prince of Peace. ⁵⁷

A sense of commitment is strong in Sunday verse. It is a commitment to form as much as content, and uniting all the various types of this verse is the strong sense given by the editors and writers of the period that

A verse hath often chanced to bear
 Into a languid listener's ear
 Some truth of Life, that else had gone
 Unheeded by - and seed thus sown
 May by God's mercy rise to bring
 Some blossom on some future spring. 58

It can be seen from the material surveyed, and briefly represented in this chapter, that Sunday verse characteristically provides a means of conveying the saving truth. Writers of Sunday verse call upon verse as a privileged discourse, offering unique access to the truth, and in the Christian context a highly specific biblical truth. The Bible is itself regarded both as poetry and as the voice of authority. The close association between the Bible and Sunday verse offers a major defining characteristic, a subtle interplay of texts, each supporting the other.

A further important characteristic of the verse is its didactic role, an inevitable aspect of its truth-telling function. It is often through its public voice that the verse teaches most conspicuously. The private address of the individual can offer a subtler inducement to Christian belief and morality. Interpretation of truth is taught by verse that itself teaches methods of reading, promoting an essentially moral response. This moral emphasis attaches to literature on a wider scale, beyond the limits of Sunday verse, which may itself lead readers towards other literature, opening the world of the poets to such readers as Adam Rushton (see p.229).

Most Sunday verse repudiated or transcended doubt. It was actively verse of faith. An energy of conviction, or supplication, reinforced by regular poetic forms, helped to counter the passivity of the Sabbath. Many writers and readers sought the soothing reassurance of such verse, employing familiar language to explore the familiar, in familiar forms. The need for reassurance may well suggest an underlying unease, but there is an essentially conservative ideological function in verse which both soothes and saves.

As pious verse promoted piety, it therefore also served a social role, with its emphasis on selfless Christian principle and dutiful, restrained behaviour. Whilst sectarianism is apparent, and even strident in anti-Catholic prejudice, which can be seen to affect style as well as subject matter, there is a broad appeal in much of the verse to essential Christian values and the God of love. This breadth of appeal is reflected in the social breadth of the readership, especially apparent in the various pious periodicals, and most notably in the proliferation of hymns for all classes.

The reiteration of tried and tested values, with their biblical authority unchallenged by most Sunday readers, was itself a consoling feature of Sunday verse, so often called upon to offer solace. At once a simple mnemonic aid and a subtler tool of social and religious communication, the poetry of piety in mid-Victorian England was integral to the lives of millions who sought both reassurance and respectability.⁵⁹

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3, pp.51-79.

1. Christian Advocate and Review (October 1861), 360.
2. S.R. Piggott, Preface to his father Solomon Piggott's Noah and His Days (London, [1851]).
3. Specimens of Sacred, Pathetic and Serious Poetry, from Chaucer to the Present Day (Edinburgh, 1855), Preliminary Observations.
4. George Bayldon, Annals of the Christian Church in Metre (London, 1852), Preface.
5. James Ford, Prayer-Book Rhymes (London, 1853), Prefatory Notice.
6. 'Finis', p.249.
7. Hymns for the Use of Sunday Schools, nineteenth edition (Nottingham, 1854), Preface.
8. Christian Poetry for School and Family Use (London, 1854), Preface. (A selection of Robert Montgomery's poems.)
9. Sunday at Home (October, 1861), 659-660.
10. Matins and Vespers, fourth edition (London, 1851), Preface.
11. J.P. Shorthouse, Theology in Verse (London, 1858), Preface.
12. R.B. Exton, Century Of Sonnets on Sacred Subjects (London, 1860), Preface.
13. Doreen Rosman, Evangelicals and Culture (London, 1984), p.178.
14. 'Waller', Lives of the English Poets edited by G.B. Hill, 3 vols, (Oxford, 1905), I, 291.
15. Occasional Papers and Reviews, p.94. The psalm referred to begins 'O Lord, thou hast searched and known me.' 'Sacred Poetry' was a review of Josiah Conder's Star in the East for the Quarterly Review (June 1825), 211-32. It was reprinted in Occasional Papers and Reviews (Oxford, 1877), pp.81-107.
16. Hymns and Anthems Adjusted to the Church Services Throughout the Year (London, 1851), Preface.
17. W.H. Charlton, Sonnets Sacred and Miscellaneous and Other Poems (London, 1854), Preface.
18. Book of Psalms Translated into English Verse (London, 1853) Preface.
19. E.A. Bowring, The Most Holy Book of Psalms Literally Rendered into English Verse (London, 1858), p.xii.

20. Earl of Winchilsea, The Poem of the Book of Job Done into English Verse (London, 1860), p.1.
21. For a possible comparison, see the example of Calvert's Pneuma in Appendix C, p.397.
22. James Martin, The Biblical Lyre (London, 1857), pp.48, 49.
23. C.P., Scripture Poems (London, [1857]), p.39.
24. Concluding Dissertation, III, 396.
25. Henry Stebbing, Jesus: A Poem in Six Books (London, 1851), p.144.
26. Timothy Hathaway, Gospel Melodies; or Short Chronological Portraits of Our Saviour in Verse (London, 1856), Preface.
27. Ibid., p.81.
28. Stebbing, Preface.
29. Julia Maynard, Eight of Our Lord's Parables Paraphrased (London, 1858), p.27.
30. Ibid., p.30.
31. James Ford, Preliminary Notice.
32. Ibid., pp.5, 6.
33. Matilda Bassett, Bible Gleanings (London, 1851), p.52.
34. Ibid., p.53.
35. John Montgomery, Thoughts on Man (London, 1852), pp.3, 9.
36. Bishop Heber, 'I praised the earth, in beauty seen'. This is included in the 'Nature' section of C.F. Alexander's anthology, The Sunday Book of Poetry (London, 1864), p.255.
37. Robert Frame, Lays of Judah (London, 1859), p.101.
38. Marianne Farningham, Lays and Lyrics of the Blessed Life (London, 1860), p.57.
39. F.S. Pierpoint, Songs of Love, The Chalice of Nature and Lyra Jesu, second edition (London, 1858), pp.30, 31.
40. C.R. Rogers (ed), The Sacred Minstrel (London, 1859), Preface.
41. Hugh White, The Invalid's Hymn-Book, 12th thousand (Dublin, 1854), Preface.
42. Margaret Mackay, "Thoughts Redeemed"; or Lays of Leisure Hours (Edinburgh, [1854]), Preface.

43. Stuart Alexander, Life's Phantoms and Other Poems, Chiefly Devotional and Paraphrastical (Glasgow, [1855]), Advertisement.
44. M.A. Kelty, Waters of Comfort (Cambridge, 1856), Preface.
45. Jane Borthwick, 'It Is Well', Thoughts for Thoughtful Hours (London, 1859), p.15.
46. Benjamin Richings (ed), Flowers of Sacred Poetry (London, 1854), Preface.
47. Light in Life's Shadows; or, Hymns for the Sorrowing (London, 1859), Preface.
48. Martin F. Tupper, 'To Pio Nono', Half-a-Dozen No-Popery Ballads (London, 1851) p.5.
49. Matthew Bridges, The Passion of Jesus (London, 1852), p.7.
50. According to this reprint of 1870, it had then reached a print run of 48,000 copies. The contents were significantly revised from those of the first edition (1862).
51. For a detailed study of the Anglican tradition in eighteenth century verse, see H. Grant Sampson, The Anglican Tradition in Eighteenth-Century Verse (The Hague, 1971).
52. Farningham, p.187.
53. William McCombie, Beauties of Modern Sacred Poetry (Aberdeen, 1852), pp.iv, v.
54. Sacred Gems Ancient and Modern (Edinburgh, 1853), Preface.
55. Barton Bouchier, Solace in Sickness and Sorrow (London, 1856), Preface.
56. Jane Dewhurst, The Sabbath and Other Poems (London, 1856), Preface.
57. E.M. Nodder, Gleanings for the Humble (London, 1852), pp.1-2.
58. L. Bourne, 'Introduction', Thoughts Upon Catholic Truths (London, 1858).
59. The scale of readership of such verse is suggested by the fact that the Sunday schools had three and a half million scholars by 1870. According to Cliff, the Sunday schools 'taught more children to read and, in many cases, to write, than any other educational body' (Cliff, p.129). Widespread religious periodicals appealed to a similarly extensive readership (see Appendix C).

CHAPTER 4 : HYMNS

Poetry in the form of songs and hymns had, almost as an infant, attracted me.

Autobiography of Mary Smith, Schoolmistress and Nonconformist (1892), p.33.

* * *

(i) Hymns as Popular Verse

By far the most common type of religious verse anthology in the mid-Victorian period was the hymn collection. The hymn was the most characteristic form of Sunday verse, and served as a model for much that was written outside its specific classification. Encountered at the earliest age, the hymn was likely to be also the longest remembered religious verse: a testimony to the persuasion of form. In common with other Sunday verse, the hymn was frequently rooted in the Bible, offered interpretation and returned the reader to the authority of the Bible. The verse endeavoured to make the biblical discourse more accessible, and offered guidance and reassurance. A marked moral note was often sounded.

Hymn collections provided the only kind of anthology consciously to cater for the whole social range. They undoubtedly attracted readers in every walk of life; they were also accessible to non-readers through religious services. For these reasons they are of particular interest. Lionel Adey, in his study of the hymn, Hymns and the Christian "Myth" (Vancouver, 1986), points out in his opening remarks the considerable influence of this class of verse:

It is not too much to claim that in England, between the mid-eighteenth century and the rise of the popular press in the late nineteenth, the child or semi-literate adult formed both his explicit convictions and to a large extent his inner world from the Bible and the hymn book.¹

As both the Bible and the hymn-book were basic tools of the educators in the nineteenth century, this is hardly a surprising claim. Indeed, it is an essential part of the design of many hymn collections that they should mould the Christian character as well as enhance religious understanding: 'sound in principle and pure in sentiment', as the editor of A Collection of Hymns and Poetry, Original and Selected (third ed., 1858) phrased it in his Preface. It was also not unusual for hymns to provide the major literary stimulus outside the Bible. Hymns could thus provide a stepping stone to a wider field of literature. As this most widespread literary form was frequently perceived in moral terms, reading hymns could itself be perceived as a moral activity. G.W.E. Russell recalled that

hymns played a great part in our training. As soon as we could speak we learned "When rising from the bed of death" and "Beautiful Zion built above"; "Rock of Ages" and "Jesu, Lover of my soul" were soon added.²

As noted in chapter 3 (p.77), Barton Bouchier asserted the value of hymns over the Bible itself for accessibility. The editor of the recent Penguin Book of Hymns (1989), Ian Bradley, claims that 'it must certainly be the case now that more people can quote from hymns than from the Bible.'³ Again and again, Victorian editors mentioned the enduring power of the hymn: 'the Christian Hymn Book, next to the Bible, ... wields the largest and mightiest formative influence upon the young and old, upon saint and sinner, of any book in the world.'⁴

The term 'hymns' was used very loosely by Victorian writers, generally designating short, regular lyrical pieces on religious themes. It was thus used to describe original collections of private devotional verse - such as the popular Hymns and Meditations (1850) of Anna Letitia Waring⁵ - as well as congregational collections for collective worship in church. Extracts from the Waring volume appear in many anthologies, such as Lyra Anglicana (1862). This anthology was described on the title page as 'Hymns and Sacred Songs' (becoming 'Spiritual Songs' in later editions), and in his preface R.H. Baynes, the Anglican cleric who edited the volume, indicated the value attached to hymns:

It would be almost impossible to overrate the value of really good hymns for private as well as public use. Next to the Bible itself, hymns have done more to influence our views, and mould our theology, than any other instrumentality whatever. There is a power in hymns which never dies. Easily learned in the days of childhood and of youth; often repeated; seldom, if ever, forgotten; they abide with us, a most precious heritage amid all the changes of our earthly life. They form a fitting and most welcome expression for every kind of deep religious feeling; they are with us to speak of Faith and Hope in hours of trial and sorrow; with us to animate to all earnest Christian effort; with us as the rich Consolation of individual hearts, and as one common bond of Fellowship between the living members of Christ's mystical body. ⁶

Baynes has here identified some of the key roles of such verse: it communicates religious feeling (not merely religious facts); it supports the sorrowful; it encourages Christian endeavour; and it offers consolation.

(ii) Problems of Definition

Today, hymn-books are most commonly thought of as for congregational use, and always associated with music. Such an association is implicit in the regular metrical forms, but in effect it was an association much slower in its development in the Anglican

church than the Methodist: Methodists had been singing hymns with enthusiasm since the eighteenth century, but it was not until 1861 that the Anglicans produced a standard hymnal, Hymns Ancient and Modern, and at that time it was regarded as distinctly high church. Hymns were certainly not thought of as just for singing - the words were to be read (and learnt) outside the context of the service. Isaac Smith makes this clear in the title of his collection: A Hymn Book for the Services of the Church and for Private Reading (Oxford, 1856).

The fact that some editors attempted to serve more than one purpose with their hymn collections somewhat confuses easy distinction, but 'hymn-book' (or hymnal) is nevertheless a useful means of distinguishing collections for congregational use from private devotional verse collections, which may be termed simply 'hymns'; 'hymn collection' then serves to cover both areas. R.H. Baynes also edited a hymn-book, in which he protested at the lack of editorial discrimination, allowing 'too many hymns of a private and personal nature' to be included. In the public context, Baynes saw praise and prayer as the 'staple' ingredients, and such hymns he believed should be 'neither didactic essays on theology, nor the results of peculiar states of mind or feeling.'⁷ These public hymns, as will be demonstrated, were considered less the work of individual authors than public utterances subject to textual emendation, both for purposes of enhanced clarity and for sectarian purposes of self-definition. Private, devotional hymns retained the stamp of individuality, offering their soothing reassurances on a more intimate level.

Recent major scholarly studies of the hymn, such as those by Tamke and Adey,⁸ show a developing sociological and literary interest in this area, but these studies are almost exclusively concerned with the

hymn-book. Adey, in Class and Idol (Vancouver, 1988) extends his study from church and chapel to school collections, but there is a tendency for scholars to work on an 'ideal' definition of a hymn which disregards the way the term was actually being used by Victorian writers. The tendency to assume that hymn means singing is common in critical approaches, and derives from St. Augustine. This is seen in David Daiches' concern that hymns

are to be distinguished from devotional poetry by their more communal nature. They do not, as a rule, represent the voice of the individual seeking an encounter with God, but rather formulate sentiments suitable for a congregation to sing together.⁹

Arthur Pollard considers that a good hymn 'must be "sing-able", since hymns are meant to be sung.'¹⁰ This sentiment is echoed by J.R. Watson in his lecture on Victorian hymns: 'the first demand of a hymn is that it should be singable.'¹¹

Susan Tamke's study of the hymn starts with a similar assumption. She asserts in her introduction that 'hymn singing was popular', and endeavours to prove this fact by quoting 'some publication statistics'. This in itself seems a dubious exercise (hardly being a guide to what was sung), made more so by a singularly inapposite and inaccurately documented example. She offers as proof of the popularity of hymn-singing Keble's Christian Year, because 'it went into forty-three editions.'¹² The term editions here is almost certainly being used as loosely as the Victorian publishers themselves used it. Most often it is impressions that is meant. In the first place, Keble's work was never in itself regarded as a hymn-book, least of all by the writer. The fact that a few pieces were eventually set to music and adopted by Victorian editors does nothing more than demonstrate the flexibility of the term 'hymn'. Nor did Keble's volume stop at

forty-three editions, or impressions: there were ninety-five so-called editions in Keble's lifetime.¹³ It is only towards the end of her introduction that Tamke acknowledges that 'in the English tradition of hymns' they were 'intended to be used as devotional books as well as singing books.' Unfortunately she does not take this opportunity to locate Keble as a devotional poet.¹⁴

Even within the period under review, there was argument as to the precise nature of a hymn-book. This problematic area of definition is perhaps best reflected in the Rivulet controversy. Thomas Toke Lynch, a London clergyman, published in 1855 a collection entitled The Rivulet: a Contribution to Sacred Song. The front cover bore the phrase 'Hymns for the Heart and Voice', taken from Lynch's preface, where he described the hymns as 'suitable for the chamber or the church.' His volume came under attack in the Morning Advertiser, where it was sharply criticized for its pretensions as a hymn-book. The Eclectic Review praised the work, and sent a copy of their laudatory article to the Morning Advertiser, which returned to the attack. Lynch's friends produced a 'Protest' in his defence, and a considerable stir was created over an apparently trivial matter.¹⁵ The aspects of the work singled out for adverse criticism were the metrical irregularity of some pieces and the dependence on nature-worship. The following verse, from his sixth hymn, illustrates the undoubted dependence on natural theology in Lynch's work:

Aloft in the quietest air
Serenely the cloudlets repose;
The God who has made them so fair,
His love in their loveliness shows.

The acrimonious debate lent a certain irony to Lynch's innocent concluding lines to the volume:

'Go forth, O Book!...
... If any greet thee with disdain,
Suffer, but not parade, thy pain,
And meekly do thy best.' ¹⁶

Lynch was sufficiently moved by the episode to add a new comment to his second edition (controversy being good for sales), sounding a cautious note of qualification:

The Rivulet is not issued as in itself a sufficient book of song for Christian churches. Its only public use could be as supplemental. ... The metres are far too various for ordinary congregations; and knowing that the book would not come into general public use, I have included several compositions which otherwise I should have omitted.¹⁷

(iii) Reader-orientation

The titles of hymn collections give ample testimony of the wide application of the term - and also reveal the high degree of specificity in relation to reader orientation. A short list is offered here to indicate the range; the reader is referred to Appendix B for fuller support of this point:

- The Book of Praise from the Best English Hymn Writers (1861)
- Psalms and Hymns Original and Selected for the Use of Blackheath Congregational Church (1854)
- Select Psalms and Hymns Suitable Both for Public Worship and Private Use (1851)
- Hymns for the Services of the Church...for Country Congregations (1852)
- The Infant Scholar's Hymn Book (1852)
- Catholic Hymns (1859)
- New and Enlarged Hymn Book for the Use of the Primitive Methodists (1853)
- Song of Moses and the Lamb, to be Used by the Society of Christian Israelites (1853)
- Hymn-Book for the Closet and the Drawing-Room (1854)
- Bristol Temperance Hymn Book (1856)
- The Village Hymnal (1860)
- Children's Hymns for the Nursery and School (1857).

- Original Hymns for Maternal Meetings (1860)
- Hymns for Invalids (1853)
- Light in Life's Shadows, or Hymns for the Sorrowing (1859)
- Hymns for Use in Witley Church (1859)
- Congregational Hymn Book (1855)
- Psalms and Hymns for the Use of the Congregation of Rugby School (1859)

One element noticeable here is the way psalms figured in the hymn collections. These were usually metrical versions, essentially offered up as hymns, but kept separate in the volume. There is a link here between these versified psalms and the nature poetry of the Sunday poets, which inherits some of its authority from its roots in biblical psalmody. In this area are to be found some of the strongest connections with eighteenth century hymns. Watts's versions of the psalms were popular, and the psalm section in hymn collections only occasionally contained contemporary material. It is interesting, in view of the grounds for criticising Lynch's volume, that the psalms effectively provided a body of nature poetry. David Daiches has pointed out that 'the Hebrew Psalmist considered Nature to be a demonstration of the glory of God the Creator, for which he was to be praised.'¹⁸ Natural theology had adopted this response, and it was given further impetus by Victorian Romanticism, which readily accepted this duty. Hymns as well as psalms testified to the glory of the Creator; it was just such a theme that recurred in Keble's Christian Year, and appeared in the adopted hymns such as 'There is a book, who runs may read':

The works of God, above, below,
 Within us and around,
 Are pages in that book, to show
 How God Himself is found.¹⁹

The titles listed above emphasize the range of readers addressed. Hymn books were often compiled for individual churches, with a particular congregation in mind. Indeed, it was this cause of proliferation that led to attempts to standardize collections, in publications such as Hymns Ancient and Modern (1861) for the Church of England. A Collection of Hymns for the Use of People Called Methodists (1780) had been formulated with similar motives the century before. The local hymn books, mostly of modest scale, were drawn principally from well known hymns, but they were also supplemented by the original work of the compiler, who was usually the incumbent of the parish concerned.

Apart from this geographical localisation, the titles listed show an awareness of social rank, education, age, personal circumstances, and denomination in their readers. This conscious narrowing to a specific group of readers was a remarkable feature of the hymn collections; such precise reader-orientation, as a continuing practice with a variety of target groups, is unique to them in the world of verse. The child, the Sunday scholar, the teacher, mothers, the sick, the educated, the ill-educated, Methodists, Baptists, Anglicans, Catholics, Christian Jews, Congregationalists, the poor, the rich, the short-sighted (Hymns for Private Use in Large Type (1857)) - all (and more) were addressed as individual groups. It was most often the edited collection that offered this precision, but individual writers also tailored their material to a specific purpose, such as C.F. Alexander's Hymns for Little Children (1848), or Thomas Davis's Songs for the Suffering (1859).

Differences in denominational collections were principally doctrinal. The editors of the New Hymn Book of 1851, published by the General Baptist Association in yet another attempt to rationalize to

'but one book in each particular congregation', were anxious to emphasize that 'amid the profusion of hymns with which the church has been inundated, care is required that only such should be employed as are accurate in their historical, doctrinal, and prophetic statements.'²⁰ Here the self-defining aspect of sectarian collections is evident.

An awareness of the economic and educational status of readers has two major effects on collections for the poor and semi-literate: these collections were cheaply printed and priced, and the hymns were selected for simplicity and clarity of communication. A new and revised edition of W. Barnes A Selection of Psalms and Hymns (Richmond, 1852) was dedicated to the parish of Richmond in Yorkshire, and this edition 'endeavoured, by omitting all comments not absolutely necessary, so to reduce the price, as to bring the book within the more easy reach of all classes.'²¹ No price is recorded for this item, but it is similar to other sixpenny publications. The Church Hymn Book (Ipswich, [1852]) was published at 6d by Longman, and as it was 'intended chiefly for the use of country congregations, the simplest and, as far as possible, the best known hymns have been preferred.'²² A similarly aimed collection, Hymns for the Services of the Church (1852), also published at 6d, restricted the number of hymns used 'for the sake of bringing its price within the reach of the poor.'²³ More obviously within such a reach was W. Chapman's Teetotal Hymns (1859), selling at 2d. As the writer is described as 'a poor old labouring man', it seems particularly directed to the 'uneducated' although it might be 'read with pleasure' by 'well-educated persons of piety.'²⁴ John H. Sperling's Village Hymnal (Birmingham, 1860) was 'the result of a need long felt in an Agricultural Parish...Hymns of Praise and Prayer, in plain English, and simple metre, following the order of the

Christian seasons.'²⁵

Rather than narrowing their readers to a defined group, some editors aimed for an ambitious range. Such was the design of Psalms and Hymns for Public, Private and Social Worship (1857) prepared for the 'Baptist Denomination'. Although limited by denomination, the compilers intended the volume for a variety of uses, 'for the Sanctuary, the Closet, the Domestic Circle, and the Social Gathering.'²⁶ Thomas Raffles had a similar aim in his Hymns Selected and Alphabetically Arranged for Public Worship and Private Devotion (Liverpool, 1853), which was designed to supplement Watts's hymns. Raffles included 'Hymns of Instruction, as well as of Praise, and compositions adapted not for the sanctuary only, but for the social circle and the closet also.'²⁷

With so many hymn collections published in this period, and so much emphasis on reader-orientation, it might be expected that a reflection of the life of these readers would be apparent. This is so only in very indirect ways: as Tamke and Adey have shown, social attitudes can be charted through the hymns. But Tamke rightly points out that two influential factors are at work in the Victorian hymn: 'evangelicals tended to be "other-worldly"' and the Anglican church was 'tied by tradition.'²⁸ Thus both were happy to inherit and maintain the traditions implicit in the eighteenth century hymn, with its emphasis on salvation through Christ, a striving for heaven, and an emphasis on eternity rather than the present. The appeal of familiarity is a major influence on hymn collections, and, in Tamke's phrase 'hymns not only reflect conservative attitudes but also help to perpetuate them.'²⁹ This is unsurprising, given the religious function of most of these texts. Even so, hymn collections can offer glimpses of the earthly life of their Victorian writers and readers.

Collections often extended to a final section for Special Occasions, covering such items as hymns for the bereaved, for those at sea, for the dedication of a church. It is in this context that, in the apparently unlikely setting of Liturgical Hymns (1858), a hymn 'For Miners' appears. It warrants quotation in full for its sustained attempt at an appropriate metaphorical integration of subject and addressees:

Not on the earth alone abound
The gifts of love divine;
For they are scattered underground,
In many a sunless mine.

But oft-times, while with lifted arm
To gather them we stand,
The lamp of safety gives alarm,
And death is close at hand.

Yet if, as though in prostrate prayer,
Upon the earth we lie,
The black, sulphureous, scorching air,
Will rush innocuous by.

And thus we learn that none can fight,
None fly their ghostly foe,
Save they who keep Christ's lamp alight,
And use it bending low. ³⁰

This piece neatly integrates the common dark/light antithesis through the image of the miner's lamp, and the lamp's life-saving potential provides a readily comprehensible metaphor for the saving power of Christ. The compilers of this collection defend their importation of 'some [hymns] which are original', and clearly this piece belongs to this category.

(iv) The Adaptation of Texts

A striking feature of many hymn collections was the cavalier attitude towards the text, reinforcing the practical aspects of such writing, as it was adapted to serve specific purposes. A common response can be found in Isaac Smith's Hymn Book for the Services of

the Church and for Private Reading (Oxford, 1856), where he stated that 'every published Hymn must be regarded as public property.' Smith and his co-editors thus felt 'under a positive obligation to alter ... all faulty passages.'³¹ One 'fault' that editors chose to amend was the metrical fluency of hymns required for congregational singing; this was a common reason for alteration, but far from the only one. John Flesher's collection The New and Enlarged Hymn Book for the Use of the Primitive Methodists (1853) was specifically not 'prepared exclusively for congregational use but partly for reading in the family or closet.' Flesher still felt a need to re-model hymns: 'I have freely altered or re-made hymns from authors of different grades of talent and reputation.'³² Not satisfied with this editorial freedom, Flesher also wrote a number of hymns himself to fill gaps, as he conceived them to exist. He added a number of his own pieces to this collection, including a hymn on the fall of Adam and Eve:

Alas! the Tempter spread a snare;
The woman enter'd, fell, -
And caused her husband soon to share
Her sin, her guilt, her hell! ³³

He claimed that his own pieces and his adaptations were an attempt towards 'securing an unquestionable copyright' for the Primitive Methodists.³⁴

Sometimes alterations have a doctrinal as much as a literary motive. Such is the case with B.W. Noel's editorial interference:

Having ventured to alter good hymns when the language used towards the Redeemer seemed to be too familiar,... when passages of Scripture were misapplied, when the sense was obscure, or when the composition was extremely careless, I have therefore not added the names of the authors. ³⁵

Yet another reason for editorial intervention was the matter of length, four verses often being considered sufficient. This principle was especially apparent in collections for children or the newly literate. W.J. Hall's Psalms and Hymns Adapted to the Services of the Church of England (1857) was directed 'both to the educated and to the unlettered Christian' and with the latter rather more in mind, no doubt, 'portions of four verses only have been chosen... except where the unity of the subject required an addition.'³⁶ R.H. Baynes believed that as the 'object of hymns is not to bring praise to the writer, but to promote the glory of God', changes were entirely justifiable.³⁷ It can be seen that textual integrity was largely subordinated to the efficient propagation of Christian truth, and accessibility was paramount.

Roundell Palmer, in his Book of Praise (1862), an anthology in the Golden Treasury series, was unusual in being critical of this editorial practice, which he roundly condemned. He claimed that this 'system of tampering with the text' had become 'so great an abuse, that to meet with any author's genuine text, in a book of this kind, is quite the exception.' Palmer pointed out that James Montgomery was moved to publish his collected hymns in order to establish the texts - yet Montgomery himself had freely amended the work of other writers in his own anthology, Christian Psalmist (1825). Palmer aimed to give his readers the 'genuine uncorrupted text', as far as it could be ascertained;³⁸ even he, however, cuts longer compositions, though with his more scholarly approach he does make clear in annotation when he takes this liberty, and bibliographic sources are recorded.

(v) *The Power of Verse*

One of the major features of the hymn was undoubtedly the persuasive form: familiar material was recorded in reassuringly regular metres. Reiterations abound, working to reinforce the ideas. It is easy to dismiss much of the language as uninspired and cliché-ridden, the forms of expression trite. This aspect of the verse is taken up in Chapter 9.

Even today the ritual power of the hymn has not been entirely lost, though it has been relocated in more secular contexts, most notably the football ground. The insistent changes observable in their earthly lives made the Victorians all the more eager to hold on to the stability of their religious literary heritage, which by its very forms represented certainty in a world of changing values. It seems likely that it is this very instinct that serves to keep the hymn alive today, though it is most frequently the case that popular hymns are now identified with their tunes, so the music makes its own contribution to the powerful persuasion of form.

The Victorian hymn can be most easily identified in its public mode, with the emphasis on singable form, and praise, prayer and thanksgiving predominant. In addition to these ingredients, more meditative moods are encompassed by the private devotional collections for individual reading at home. In many ways such hymns are indistinguishable from other kinds of religious verse - subject matter, tone, style are essentially similar. The hymn generally is more conservative in form, and offers less variety in its language. It does, however, provide (like the Bible) a direct link between church and home, being used for Sunday reading in both contexts. It must

certainly be true that the hymn had the widest readership of all religious verse.³⁹ Quite apart from the popularity of hymn collections, the religiously inclined periodicals helped to propagate the hymn in both its public and private modes to a diverse readership.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4, pp.83-98.

1. Lionel Adey, Hymns and the Christian "Myth" (Vancouver, 1986), p.2.
2. G.W.E. Russell, The Household of Faith (London, 1902), p.240.
3. 'Much more than songs of praise', Times, 29 May 1989, p.16.
4. James Wallis, Christian Praise, new edition (1853), p.ix.
5. For fuller consideration of her work, see chapter 8. This collection went through seventeen reprints up to 1911, including several revisions.
6. R.H. Baynes (ed.), Lyra Anglicana: Hymns and Sacred Songs (London, 1862), p.vi.
7. R.H. Baynes (ed.), Hymns for the Public Worship of the Church (London, [1858]), Preface.
8. Susan S.Tamke, Make a Joyful Noise Unto the Lord (Ohio, 1978); Lionel Adey, Hymns and the Christian 'Myth' (Vancouver, 1986); and Class and Idol in the English Hymn (Vancouver, 1988).
9. David Daiches, God and the Poets (Oxford, 1984), p.70.
10. English Hymns, Writers and Their Work No.123 (London, 1960), p.7.
11. J.R. Watson, The Victorian Hymn: An Inaugural Lecture in the University of Durham (Durham, 1981), p.12.
12. Tamke, p.2.
13. There is contradictory evidence about the precise number of editions (more correctly, impressions). Figures quoted in the Preface to Occasional Papers and Reviews (1877) as 'furnished by Messrs.Parker', the publishers, show 140 editions issued up to April 1873, amounting to 305,500 copies. However, a Parker's advertisement in the Publisher's Circular for 17 April 1873 (p.262) quotes current editions and their prices as follows:

145 ed.	10s 6d
151 ed.	3s 6d
148 ed.	2s
152 ed.	1s; 1s 6d
149 ed.	6d; 9d; 1s 6d

Variations are in size and binding rather than text, from the 48mo limp cloth at 6d to the cloth gilt small quarto at 10s 6d. The timing of this advertisement is significant, as the copyright had just expired, and the advertisement ends with the warning 'All Editions without their [Parker's] imprint are unauthorised.' The 'Illustrated Edition' announced as to be shortly issued by them would presumably have been the 153rd edition. After this date it is difficult to keep track of the numerous other imprints from other publishers.

14. Tamke, p.13.
It should be noted here that Tamke is also inaccurate in her figures for C.F. Alexander's Hymns for Little Children (1848), which she asserts went to 'more than a hundred' editions within the century (p.2). The English Catalogue for 1900 lists the title published that year as the seventy-first edition.
15. Lynch himself gives an account of the affair in 'A Review of the "Rivulet" Controversy', Monthly Christian Spectator, 6 (November 1856), 681-709.
16. The Rivulet (London, 1855), pp.9, 149.
17. The Rivulet, second edition (London, 1856), Note to the Second Edition.
18. Daiches, p.50.
19. 'Septuagesima Sunday'.
20. New Hymn Book (London, 1851), Preface.
21. W. Barnes, A Selection of Psalms and Hymns (Richmond, 1852), Preface.
22. The Church Hymn Book (Ipswich, [1852]), Preface.
23. Hymns for the Services of the Church (London, 1852), Preface.
24. W. Chapman, Teetotal Hymns (London, 1859), Publisher's Preface.
25. John H. Sperling, Village Hymnal (Birmingham, 1860), Notice.
26. Psalms and Hymns for Public, Private and Social Worship (London, 1857), Preface.
27. Thomas Raffles, Hymns Selected and Alphabetically Arranged for Public Worship and Private Devotion (Liverpool, 1853), Preface.
28. Tamke, p.157.
29. Ibid., p.158.
30. Liturgical Hymns (London, 1858), No.124, pp.62-63.
31. Isaac Smith, Hymn Book for the Services of the Church (Oxford, 1856), Preface.
32. John Flesher, The New and Enlarged Hymn Book for the Use of the Primitive Methodists (London, 1853), Preface.
33. Ibid., p.135.
34. Ibid., Preface.
35. B.W. Noel, A Selection of Psalms and Hymns Adapted Chiefly for

Congregational and Social Use (London, 1853), Preface.

36. W.J. Hall, Psalms and Hymns Adapted to the Services of the Church of England (London, 1857), Preface.
37. Baynes, Hymns for the Public Worship of the Church, Preface.
38. Roundell Palmer, Book of Praise (London, 1862), p.iii.
39. See Appendix C for information about print runs of hymn books. Further details can be found in John H. Dempster's study, 'Thomas Nelson & Sons in the Late Nineteenth Century: A Study in Motivation, Part 1', Publishing History, 13 (1983), 41-87. He there prints figures which support the view that hymns were in general a profitable line for publishers.

William Joseph Lewis, who worked for the Spitalfields Gospel Mission, published a volume based on his diary, 'in relation to the Lord's Work', Promises Proved for 1865 (London, 1866). Here he identified the social range of his parish, which consisted chiefly of lodging-houses, occupied by 'beggars, street-sellers, the halt and maimed, the thief ... the fallen girl, the tramp, costermongers, dock-labourers... worn-out sailors, discharged soldiers, victims of strong drink' (p.3). In this setting, sales of hymn books, listed in Lewis's informal annual accounts for the month of April 1865, amounted to £1.5s (p.55). These hymn books had been donated, and their sale contributed to £58.17s.7d collected from charitable giving in April.

CHAPTER 5 : SUNDAY VERSE IN PERIODICALS

*As servants of our common Lord
 We take the post assigned;
 And labour at the Master's word,
 And our own business mind.*

*The Bible is our only guide
 In all the deeds we do:
 And with the Spirit's aid supplied,
 We our bless'd work pursue[.]*

*We pant not for the breath of fame;
 We court not titles high;
 In making known Immanuel's name,
 We wish to live and die.*

*We want the world to taste and see
 The love which we enjoy;
 This is our Christian liberty;
 This our supreme employ...*

*... This is the tenor of our book;
 Whom, then, can we offend?
 Come, give it, now, a kindly look,
 And you will be our friend.*

(from 'Our Mission' by J.G.)¹

* * *

(i) Periodical Verse and its Readership

Like hymn collections, periodicals served a much wider readership than the more literary and middle-class individual volumes of verse. The pricing of periodicals made them more accessible to the poorer half of the population. They were more commonly found in public places, more likely to be loaned informally, and thus more likely than a book to circulate downwards socially. Periodicals also provided the greatest variety of writers, from a wide range of society.²

Writing in mid-twentieth century of his childhood memories of Sundays in the early years of this century, Peter Fletcher noted the

characteristic role of the Sunday periodical:

The meat was put into a slow oven just before we set off for chapel. When we got home...my father...betook himself to his armchair and read The Methodist Recorder or some other religious periodical.³

From an earlier generation, G.W.E. Russell recorded that 'the distinction between "Sunday books" and others was rigidly enforced; but the mild pietistic fiction of the Sunday at Home was permitted.'⁴

Not all the periodicals which published Sunday verse (see Appendix A for a listing) were strictly designed for reading only on the Sabbath, but many titles were created to cater to the Sunday market, and the crusading, evangelical note in the title of the poem quoted in extract at the head of this chapter reflects a typical concern to spread the gospel for the benefit of others. The poet of 'Our Mission' uses the succinct characteristics of quatrain verse to sum up, simply and directly, the aims of the Local Preachers' Magazine, and once again the centrality of the Bible is evident.

The pious verse appearing in periodicals was presented in a context of wider issues than those addressed by the verse itself, although clearly there were common aims in much of the material. Titles varied in the range of contents they offered, but it is common to find in specifically church or chapel affiliated publications a good deal of routine information on church matters, such as summaries of meetings, financial reports, mission news. Sermons and Bible teaching are frequent ingredients, and the range of material can spread, as Russell indicated, to 'pietistic fiction'.

In such contexts, the verse often stands out as an appeal to the imagination; its link with the transcendent is reinforced by the contrast with its prose context. Whilst Sunday verse in the periodicals is little different in most respects from pious verse

published elsewhere, the inclusion of verse in a prose-dominated context tends to throw more emphasis on to the aesthetic appeal of the verse, and its role as an agent of variety and the imagination. Most of these periodicals 'borrowed from the sacred exchequer of the poets',⁵ to leaven the religious prose:

I like, in my Children's Treasury,
The words which sweetly swing,
And the running rhyme of the poet
That thoughts in music bring.
For the easy and regular flowing
Of sound and sense impart
A sweet and delicious feeling,
Improving the mind and heart. ⁶

Significantly, it is feeling that improves both mind and heart.

Verse thus offered, in the prose context of periodicals, a more immediate means of communicating the divine, bearing the impress of biblical authority in form as well as content. The simple directness of 'the running rhyme of the poet' achieved its ends efficiently, and was in clear contrast to the notion of a 'literary' language for verse that developed in the second half of the century.

As demonstrated in Chapter 2, many periodicals were founded as a response to the challenge of the detrimental 'cheap and pernicious works' in such plentiful supply in mid-century.⁷ The sense of mission was strong. This fact is well illustrated by the two periodicals chosen for close scrutiny later in the chapter - Sunday at Home and the Bible Class Magazine. The preliminary prospectus of the Sunday Magazine speaks for many such publications in its stated aims:

To make the Sunday a more pleasant as well as a more profitable day to thousands. ...To make our Magazine plain to common people without being vulgar, interesting to cultivated minds without being unintelligible to men of ordinary education, to make good our entry into cottages as well as drawing-rooms, to be read by people of all Christian denominations, to be of no class, of no sect, of no party,

but belonging to all, and profitable to all. ⁸

Verse was an acceptable ingredient in many periodicals which considered fiction inadmissible, such as the Methodist title, the Christian Miscellany and Family Visiter (sic), selling 60,000 copies a month according to the claim on the front cover of the May 1860 volume. The editor of the Sunday Reader, John Miller, proclaimed in his Introduction to that periodical that a 'good supply of stirring, animated reading' was the 'surest defence against any yearning for idle pleasure' and he went on to claim that 'not unfrequently we have looked for it in the noble fancies of a poet.'⁹ Sunday Morning's editor, Henry Dunn, with the aim of avoiding 'too much sameness, and, if possible, to interest young persons', occasionally used 'Original Poetry of a devout and thoughtful character.'¹⁰

Although a large proportion of Sunday versifiers in the periodicals were anonymous or pseudonymous, and if named, frequently unknown, this area of publication, in addition to affording a platform to writers of humbler background, gave readers contact with the dominant literary canon, through such poets as George Herbert, Cowper, Wordsworth, Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Tennyson.

In the case of Tennyson, it was chiefly extracts from In Memoriam that appeared in the periodicals. Two years after that poem's first publication (1850), an indignant response to the 'Strong Son of God' stanzas was published in the Churchman's Monthly Penny Magazine for September 1852, under the title 'A Protest':

'Strong Son of God!' Not so, my Lord,
My Saviour, would I speak to Thee:
Lord Jesus! Thou art all to me!
'I know thy voice: I love thy Word.

'Strong!' nay, Almighty! Shepherd, Head,

Redeemer, Advocate on high!
 I know I 'was not made to die,'
 For, Lord, Thou livest, who wast dead:...

... The many murmur, and depart;
 They 'cannot hear' thy sayings true.
 Thou Keeper of Thy chosen few,
 Thou Dweller in the broken heart:

Oh! never let us murmur so;
 Oh! bid us ever near Thee stay:
 For whither, if we go away,
 Lord Jesus! whither shall we go? H.D. 11

This is interesting not just as a measure of Tennyson's readership and the nature of the criticisms levelled at the doubting tones of In Memoriam: it reflects a common element in the periodicals, the responsiveness to an existing situation, the sense of a dialogue being entered into.

(ii) Sectarianism

Sectarianism is often apparent in such dialogue, and the most pronounced aspect of sectarianism in the fifties was the anti-Catholic 'No-Popery' stance of many aggressively Protestant publications, such as the Christian's Monthly Penny Magazine, directly concerned to 'expose the errors of Popery' (Preface, 1851). In the March issue of 1851, a brief article on 'Transubstantiation', in the regular 'Popery' column, is followed by a poem entitled 'The Papist Wafer God and the Pagan Wooden God Compared'. The poem is commended to the reader as having 'merit, as tending to show the true character of the doctrine.' The simple doggerel couplets convey a lack of respect, and demonstrate the tendency in Protestant Sunday verse to avoid all decoration and elaboration:

But here's the matter: he who makes,
 The priest who blesses it, or he who bakes.
 The baker in the godhead has a share;
 While it was dough, no god at all was there.

But Hocus Pocus, by the prayers said,
 Metamorphoses the God in bread!
 But still it seems the priest outdoes the baker;
 The one makes the bread, the other makes his Maker! ¹²

Doctrinal merit may be the only virtue to ascribe to such writing, but the verse may well be more persuasive than the previous prose article.

The anonymous 'Doubting Castle', published in the Christian Freeman, a Unitarian title, airs the problems of which version of religious truth to believe:

Who shall expound the sacred page,
 Where hidden lies the Word of Life?
 Around me, warring factions rage,
 With ceaseless and augmenting strife.

My feeble lamp I dare not trust,
 Nor yet in others can confide;
 But groping in the gloom, am thrust
 From doubt to doubt, from side to side...

... One tells me Jesus died for all,
 And therefore all shall be restored,
 Whole, from the ruin of the fall,
 Our crimes, and not ourselves, abhorred.

Another vows that part alone
 Shall taste the full atonement made;
 The few selected, marked and known,
 Before creation's keel was laid;

The rest, bound hand and foot, pell-mell,
 Writhing and gibbering, shall be sent
 To roast in an eternal hell,
 Because - ordained not to repent.

A third, more liberal, yet severe,
 Declares that all may freely come;
 But like a roaring lion, here,
 The Devil prowls, and will have some;...

... Light be my care what sect or creed
 Bestows its blessing or its ban,
 While Christ survives, and I can read
 'He tasted death for every man.' ¹³

In the opening lines of the poem, the poet is asking 'who shall expound the sacred page' in terms of which sect to follow; the doubt suggested in the poem's title is not doubt of Christ's redemptive role for man. However, the question posed may be answered at a different level by the poem itself: the poet is an expounder of truth, and frequently in the periodicals a poem is used to reinforce truth and enlighten understanding, here of the specific truth contained in the final line. The allusion in the title of 'Doubting Castle' to Pilgrim's Progress in itself carries implicit reassurance. Doubts are inevitable on the Christian's journey to the Celestial City, but they are overcome through faith. Sunday verse acknowledges doubt as that which can be left behind. It is in this respect that a useful distinction can be drawn between this writing and major religious verse, such as that of Hopkins, in which doubt is not a transitory state leading to renewed faith, but a constant source of conflict. Hopkins's 'terrible sonnets' have none of the consolations to offer that Sunday verse provides.

(iii) *The Impact of Verse*

Periodical verse for Sunday readers shares the characteristics of the pious verse published elsewhere; it is rooted in biblical authority, frequently adopts the common hymn forms, and offers reassurance and consolation in its message of faith. The transcendent truths it communicates stand out the more clearly from their prose context for the directness and simplicity of their statement. The verse also interacts with its prose context, both as commentary on and contrast to the articles enclosing it. As an agent of variety, the verse can be seen to serve a more ambivalent role, with an aesthetic appeal that is also to be seen as a commercial ploy to extend

readership.

As with hymn collections, Sunday verse in periodicals opened up material in literary forms to a wider readership. The subject matter was emphatically moral and/or religious, and the influence of this subject matter attached an intrinsic value to the literary form itself, so that eventually the literary could be seen as morally admirable. The moral reading developed a moral reader, who assumed that there was a saving truth in all literature, and might thus relate his or her understanding to biblical truth and a conservative Christian ideology. Sunday verse played a significant role in this respect.

A glance at Appendix A will show that all shades of religious opinion were reflected in periodical publications, though many aimed to avoid explicit sectarianism, in part to achieve a wider readership. One of the most successful of these Sunday periodicals was Sunday at Home. It is typical of many titles founded during this period, with its crusading concern to combat inappropriate Sunday reading (to develop the moral rather than immoral reader) and its aim to reach as wide a readership as possible. It is chosen for study as a successful publication in its field and also because verse was a regular element in its earlier years; in some titles verse was more intermittent in its appearances. 'Sacred Poetry' was a specific ingredient offered to readers in the prospectus for the new weekly.

(iv) Sunday at Home

Founded in 1854,¹⁴ Sunday at Home had the benefit of a large, experienced publisher of religious material: the Religious Tract Society. In common with other Christian institutions, the RTS (evangelical and non-sectarian) felt a responsibility to challenge the

cheap un-Christian publications. The Address of the Committee, printed in its Annual Reports, makes clear their moral stand:

The age of knowledge is the age of temptation. To impart an ability to read, without providing a suitable supply of religious publications to promote the welfare of the soul, is conferring a partial, if not a questionable attainment, on the population of a country. ¹⁵

The RTS aimed to provide 'publications suitable for all classes of people, from the child of penury to the richest noble in the land.'¹⁶ This philosophy was reflected in their pricing of Sunday at Home, which was available in weekly numbers at 1d, monthly parts at 5d (raised to 6d when coloured illustrations were used regularly from 1863), and annual volumes which were themselves variously priced according to binding, from 4s 6d - 7s in the earlier years, rising to 7s - 10s 6d by 1877. The hierarchical nature of its readership was acknowledged by the RTS in a comment in their sixty-fourth Annual Report (1863) which throws an interesting light on social attitudes towards the form of reading matter. Their periodicals are described as 'fitted to suit all classes of readers - whether the working class, with their weekly pennies, or the more educated who look for their monthly parts.' The Report also comments on the state of the periodicals market:

[RTS] periodicals are becoming the forerunners of a large number of similar publications. The success which has attended the Society's efforts has naturally stimulated other publishers to follow in its footsteps, and now there is no lack of such works... The Society's are absolutely needed. They have a character of their own. ¹⁷

In 1862 the first coloured illustration was tried out, and the RTS could boast that 'such pictures have never before been published at a single penny.' These illustrations were 'claimed to have had 'a favourable effect upon the circulation.' In the next year's report

there is reference again to 'extended circulation' after the regular use of colour plates was established. ¹⁸

Looking back on the first twenty-five years of publication, the Annual Report of 1879 estimates that Sunday at Home and its sister publication, Leisure Hour, which pre-dated it by two years, 'have together addressed not far short of a million readers monthly.' The Report goes on to reflect on the achievement of these two periodicals:

There is abundant reason to believe that the work they have accomplished has been not merely negative in the counteraction of pernicious literature, but aggressively useful both in the way of instruction, and in the dissemination of evangelical truth. The circulation during that time included all ranks, from the palace and the mansion to the humblest cottage; and has been widely distributed in all English-speaking communities. ¹⁹

This 'aggressively useful' element is indeed apparent in the content of Sunday at Home. There is a pronounced emphasis upon repentance and conversion - the necessity, the desirability, and the possibility of these states develop a familiar note.

Many Sunday periodicals had to bow to the inevitable when it came to including fiction: it was clearly seen as necessary to increase circulation, particularly amongst those to whom the periodical was chiefly directed. In its initial 'Address to our Subscribers', Sunday at Home admitted that 'if we adopt the mere sermonic form, or confine our attention to biblical subjects exclusively, our labour will be thrown away.'²⁰ There is a sense of uneasiness, perhaps a trace of puritanical mistrust, in the RTS's attitude towards this apparently inevitable trend. The 1863 Annual Report boasts that 'The Sunday at Home contains very little that is fictitious', but the tone of moral congratulation here is somewhat deflated by what follows - 'what appears to be so is substantially fact... - thrown into this form for

the sake of the less instructed members of our families.'²¹

This technique is illustrated in the issue of 5 March 1864, which opens with a story entitled 'A Wonderful Cure'. The story is given the subtitle 'A New Version of the Pharisee and the Publican.' Presumably the RTS would not have classed this biblically inspired piece fiction, merely 'thrown into the form.' They had at the beginning of their enterprise called upon the example of Christ, who 'was accustomed to draw his illustrations from the objects of nature, the customs of life, as well as from contemporary events, and often, in the form of parable.'²² The use of such fiction as Hesba Stretton's 'Jessica's First Prayer' (serialized in 1866), which went into successful volume publication in the following year, no doubt significantly helped the increasing circulation, which stood at 130,000 copies 'not only printed but sold' in 1865. Circulation steadily advanced to 1874 when it was 'higher than in any past year' and was 'still advancing' in 1875.²³

The first issue of 1855 offered an opportunity for editorial reflection on the first year (actually eight months, as the first number appeared in May 1854). There is an indication here of verse's perceived role. The article outlines the situation in the publishing world, with religious magazines specifically for particular denominations competing with the 'corrupting or frivolous' secular press. It continues:

The problem, then, of which the Committee of the Religious Tract Society were constrained to attempt the solution was, whether a periodical could not be started and sustained which should, so to speak, bridge over this chasm in the literature of our country - a publication at once cheap and artistically attractive, which should unite the charms of style to the grave verities of religious teaching; and which, without abating or compromising in any degree the 'true sayings of God', might avail itself of the occasional vehicle of imaginative literature, of instructive biography, of sacred philosophy, of the incidents of church history...for the conveyance of saving truth to the minds of multitudes who might otherwise seldom

come within its reach. 24

Here we see the assumption that some kinds of 'imaginative literature' with 'charms of style' are vehicles of 'saving truth': this is where sacred poetry is seen to have a role. As the Bible is itself, at least in part, a poetic text, though one with a unique status, it is not surprising that verse should be seen as a suitable tool of interpretation. Understanding of divine transcendence requires an imaginative faculty, and such a skill can be developed through the reading of verse. Northrop Frye has pointed out that 'a sacred book is normally written with at least the concentration of poetry.'²⁵ Thus the most immediate means of explication may well be one that transcends literal meaning. It could be argued that verse is the only adequate vehicle for such training of the imagination, that will lead to intuitive, rather than intellectual, understanding. It is for this reason that Sunday verse generally lacks destructive doubt. Such 'scientific' doubt is intellectual in origin. Tennyson showed in In Memoriam that the imagination can grapple with such doubt, but his own uncertainties led him to 'call/To what I feel is Lord of all' (liv) - the ultimate appeal is through instinct to faith. Later in the poem he reiterates this view:

If e'er when faith had fallen asleep,
I heard a voice 'believe no more'
And heard an ever-breaking shore
That tumbled in the Godless deep;

A warmth within the breast would melt
The freezing reason's colder part,
And-like a man in wrath the heart
Stood up and answered 'I have felt.'

(cxxiv)

(v) *The Role of Verse in Sunday at Home*

The verse in Sunday at Home appears in a number of different contexts, and has a variety of different roles within its perceived general function of mediating the truth. It is most conspicuous when offered as an independent item - in columns variously designated 'Original Poetry', 'Poetry for the Young' or simply 'Poetry'. The space allotted could be as little as one third of a column or as much as four and a half columns.²⁶ Certain themes recur frequently in these pieces, reflecting the Victorian preoccupation with death, the prospect of heaven, God's call to the individual, man's sinful state and God's bountiful love. A thematic link with a preceding article is sometimes created.

The issue of 15 June 1854 contains an article on 'The Death-Bed of Dr. Nettleton', prompted by the publication of a biography 'remodelled from the American edition' of Nettleton by Andrew Bonar. Nettleton was an American divine held up as an example of successful evangelism. The scene of his death is dwelt on in detail, principally to show the faith of a believer, to stress that this life must be led 'in the light' for eternal reward, and death is only a stage in the Christian's existence. The article ends with nine lines of verse, and in doing so demonstrates the use of poetry as a means of providing a suitably summary and emphatic conclusion, with a climactic ring:

There numbers beyond number of the sav'd
Together sing Redemption's endless song.

A separate poem follows the article, 'Death to the Christian' by Mary Lewis. The ambiguity of the title dissolves on moving into the first verse. This is no exclamatory threat, but a simple statement,

preparing the way for a simple Christian truth. The poem begins in much quieter vein than the concluding verse lines of the previous article; it offers a reflection on the nature of death and the after-life, for a believing Christian, by proposing a series of definitions, a little reminiscent of Herbert's method in 'Prayer'. In the last two verses the poet then acknowledges the impossibility of fully realising and verbally expressing the life after death promised to the faithful.

Death to the Christian

'Tis the pure azure of the sky when storms have pass'd,
The day-worn head, that hath its pillow gain'd at last;
The still sweet sleep when fever's burning hand's withdrawn,
The vanishing of night at voice of early dawn.

'Tis the rich golden sunset of a weeping day;
'Tis the dim mists of darken'd vision clear'd away,
And the beholding, with unveiled and ravished eyes,
The vine-clad hills and honied vales of Paradise.

The bird uncaged, singing among the forest leaves;
The heat of orient day cooled by the evening's breeze;
The river, that the heavenly shore doth constant bathe,
The voice of Jesus heard, stilling life's wind and wave.

The weary exile landed on his native shore,
To know the perils of the restless deep no more;
The banish'd heir to rich inheritance restored;
The balm of health upon the bruised spirit poured.

The veteran victor seated in triumphal car,
With hard-won trophy girt, and mark'd with battle scar;
The mean and abject beggar, who in dust sat down,
Wearing imperial robe, and bright in kingly crown.

Yea, more than these; we do but faintly dream
What it shall be to pass into that pure serene;
And there behold, with a full, clear, undazzled gaze,
The light beneath which heaven's transparent gold doth blaze.

And oh! more deeply glorious, more transcendant still, [sic]
The soul will overflow with the deep living well
Of God's indwelling love, pure, permanent, and bright,
Sparkling and rising up in fresh and full delight. ²⁷

Although the writer is concerned with similitude, she avoids the use of simile, preferring the assertion that death is the calm after a storm, rest after toil, and so on. These statements may be classed as metaphorical, and whilst in one sense these are all figures of speech, at the same time the poem operates on a purely literal level. This is what the believer holds to be true. But the climax of the poem acknowledges the inadequacy of these statements fully to realise the truth. There is a numinous quality attaching to the language after the concrete examples of the preceding verses: 'faintly dream', 'pure serene', 'transparent gold', 'transcendant', 'indwelling love.' Verse serves well here to communicate the idea that there is more than language can express, as it is a characteristic of poetry that much is implicit. The form used here, with its simple regularity, is itself an embodiment of the obvious - though, paradoxically, what is obvious is difficult, if not impossible, to define. That very lack of definition throws more weight onto the controlled rhyming couplets. They serve to give a shape to the unknown. It may well be pure chance that moves the couplets from 'pass'd/last' to 'bright/delight' - whether fortuitous or not, the effect is to crystallize the thought of the poem: death is a delight. That, indeed, is the 'saving truth'.

In this respect, the poem provides a gloss on the preceding article, which records that Nettleton, shortly before his death, was told

'You are in good hands.'
 'Certainly,' he replied.
 'Are you willing to be there?'
 'I am.' 28

Individual poems may be completely independent of their immediate context, and serve as an element of variety in this way. An example of this kind is the poem 'Church Architecture', running to one and a half columns in the issue for 2 August 1862. Coming between two prose pieces with a missionary link, the poem is detached in subject and themes. It has variety within itself, too, as it is made up of a series of verses with titles and biblical references prefaced to each. The introductory section, 'Foundation', is allowed two of these eight-line verses. The poem moves on, 'Gate', 'Floor', and so on, through to 'Completion'. The verse entitled 'Windows' refers the reader to two separate verses from Paul's second Epistle to the Corinthians, at II.2. 17 and II.11. 3, emphasizing the Christian's 'sincerity' and referring to the serpent's 'subtilty' as a threat to the 'simplicity that is in Christ.' Applied to 'Windows', this means, in effect, no stained glass:

Church windows are the best like crystal clear,
Not dark and dimmed with party-coloured panes. 29

A definite point of view is expressed, reflecting the low church orientation of Sunday at Home. The whole poem maintains this low church attitude. Perhaps the subject matter handled here would have comparatively limited appeal to 'the industrious artizan, the cottage labourer, the factory youth, the apprentice, the domestic servant' for whom Sunday at Home was 'more particularly intended'.³⁰ Verse provides an element of variety and a simplified form of presentation that no doubt helped to surmount this problem.

The pages devoted to the 'Young' make frequent use of verse, most often of a simple moralizing nature. 'The Blossom' in the first issue is typical of its kind. A child picks a 'fragile blossom' and 'gently

on her breast/The tender flow'ret plac'd'. A wind then destroys the blossom:

Its leaves were scatter'd by the wind,
Its fragrance lost in air.'

The episode over, the moral is drawn:

Young children, like this little flower,
Though beautiful and gay,
May in some sudden, mournful hour,
By death be borne away.

But the dear child who loves to pray,
Whose sins are all forgiv'n,
Who loves the Saviour to obey,
Will live and bloom in heav'n. ³¹

In later years a rather different use was made of verse for the young, in the 'Scripture Enigmas' - riddles, which were designed to encourage familiarity with the Bible. This is the most debased use of verse that Sunday at Home offers, posing questions that just happen to rhyme.³² As there is generally no link between the questions, the association forged by rhyme is irrelevant, except as a mnemonic - however, as the answers are of more concern than the questions, little is achieved:

Who did the giant brother of Goliath slay?
Whose camel's ornaments did Gideon take away?
Whom once did Abner make the King of Israel?
Who chose among her heathen countrymen to dwell?... (etc)

Take the initials, and, combined, they frame
This ancient naval city's Scripture name.³³

Fragmentary snatches of verse and even whole poems also appear within articles, serving different purposes in the prose context. One use was purely functional, providing factual evidence; for example, what hymn was sung on a particular occasion. Such occasions may have

an emotional content that the verse incidentally serves to heighten. A common use of brief extracts of verse is to provide an illustrative quotation in support of a point. An occasional series called 'Musings' in 1866 interspersed the reflective prose - often on topics drawn from the natural world - with mostly unattributed quotations, from a range of poets including Tennyson (In Memoriam). Identified extracts are drawn from Cowper and Wordsworth, also both Brownings and R.C. Trench. It is comparatively unusual to find Robert Browning quoted (here 'Andrea del Sarto') in such a popular setting. The whole of George Herbert's 'Church Porch' appears in an article on 'The Church Porch' in the issue of 1 December,³⁴ where it is most happily integrated. Sometimes an entire article is devoted to a single poet or poetry in general; generous extracts invariably accompany such items. In 1855 an article on 'The Sacred Poetry of America' was printed, quoting substantial pieces from Willis, Hannah F. Gould and Phoebe Carey. A pertinent reflection is made on the relationship between literature and society: 'there can be no surer key to the knowledge of an age or nation, than that which is afforded by the spirit of the literature which awakens the sympathy and wins the favour of the masses.'³⁵

Many poets of earlier ages awoke the sympathy of Victorian readers; in the context of Sunday reading, Herbert and Cowper are predominant. Articles also appear in Sunday at Home on Wither and Quarles. A six page piece on R.C. Trench in the issue of 5 March 1864 shows a willingness to consider contemporary writers too. Quarles is perhaps the least expected name here, and the article, published in the issue of 15 November 1862, acknowledges that his emblems are the cause of 'the real value of his poetry' being overlooked. The writer of the article is moved to value Quarles as a poet because he approves of Quarles the man, who, according to his wife's biographical sketch,

'preferred God and religion to the first place in his thoughts.' It is the subject matter that most appeals in the poetry: 'the vanity of the world itself, its unsatisfying nature, the sole sufficiency of God to satisfy the soul of man, the weakness and wandering of the soul from God, the longing desire of the renewed soul after him.' There is an acknowledgement that Quarles's verse 'may seem to modern ears rugged and uncouth' (echoing the views of Herbert quoted in Chapter 3), but the writer suggests that 'the very ruggedness adds force to some confession of human weakness or guilt, or heightens by contrast some expression of devout desire.' This is seen as quite different from the 'harmonious prettiness' that characterizes some contemporary verse (not a little of which is published in Sunday at Home). An interesting comment is made in the final judgement of Quarles's status as a poet: 'we do not claim for him the highest rank among poets, but a poet he undoubtedly is, and taking into account the moral aspect of his poetry, of a very high order.'³⁶ The attitude expressed here permeates Sunday verse. Morality is highly esteemed. For the mid-Victorian morality was virtually a poetic quality. Such an attitude explains the appearance of much of the verse that is printed in Sunday at Home and other Sunday periodicals.

As Isobel Armstrong has pointed out, mid-Victorian critics were 'preoccupied with the moral function of poetry', and she demonstrates in her study of poetry reviews how the morality of Victorian criticism was closely related to the concept of sympathy, an act of imaginative insight and identification that had little to do with intellectual perceptions. This response to verse serves to link Sunday verse with the literary establishment. Armstrong points out, however, that morality was not simply a substitute for didacticism: most critics distinguished, like Spedding in his review of Tennyson, between the

'moral soul' of a poet and 'formal preaching.'³⁷ In Sunday verse this distinction is seldom so apparent; indeed, it is common to find a close alliance of morality and didacticism.

The world of nature provides the source for numerous articles in Sunday at Home, and these articles often draw on the poets for descriptive illustration. In a piece entitled 'The Beauty of Rain' (14 May 1864), the writer takes the poets to task for being generally unenthusiastic about this natural phenomenon:

Even Tennyson, nature-loving Tennyson, what word has he for the rain? Of Enid we are told -

'She did not weep,
But o'er her meek eye came a happy mist,
Like that which kept the heart of Eden green
Before the useful trouble of the rain.'³⁸

For this writer, Keble turns out to be the favoured poetic voice, with his 'gracious rain'.³⁹

On some occasions a poem appears to have only the slightest connection with the article in which it appears. Such is the case with one of the articles in the series 'Plants of Scripture', on 'The Fig Tree.' A poem about spring is inserted in the middle, simply because it has one reference to figs: 'The figs their verdant vest display.' The poem is followed by a discontinuous remark that 'Pliny tells us that the fruit of the fig tree...'⁴⁰ The attempt at variety turns into fragmentation.

A very different effect can be achieved in the mixing of prose and verse, when the latter is fully integrated. A later article about 'The Swallow and its Migrations' offers an anecdote about two swallows appearing in the writer's church during a service. This incident is acknowledged as prompting 'the following stanzas', the first of which represents the tone and style of the poem:

Gay, guiltless pair,
 What seek ye from the fields of heaven?
 Ye have no need of prayer,
 Ye have no sins to be forgiven. ⁴¹

There is then a natural transition to Psalm 84, beginning 'How amiable are thy tabernacles, O Lord of Hosts!' The psalm goes on to mention the swallow which has 'a nest for herself' and becomes a symbol of the soul at home with the Lord. For the Sunday reader there was a frequent and natural link between the Bible and poetry. The inserted poem attractively complements the more factual part of the article, echoing the easy grace of the bird in its speed and delicacy of movement, the verse form assisting greatly in this impression.

Poetry was also used for explicit preaching - seen most obviously in the use of verses to supplement the subject under consideration in 'Pulpit in the Family', a column which offered a reflection on a short Bible text, in the manner of a short sermon. 'Whitsunday' is the subject of sermon and poem on 7 June 1862:

Nay startle not to hear that rushing wind,
 Wherewith this place is shaken:
 Attend a while, and thou shalt quickly find
 How much thou art mistaken,
 If thou think here
 Is any cause of fear...

Mock not, profane despisers of the Spirit,
 At what's to you unknown:
 This earnest he hath sent, who must inherit
 All nations as his own:
 That they may know
 How much to him they owe. ⁴²

The poem gives an imaginative dimension to the more matter-of-fact content of the sermon; the explicatory element is still present here, however, and the sermonizing tone still in evidence through the use of imperative verbs.

Verse in Sunday at Home was not seen as detached from real situations, in its emphasis on spiritual realms. Though the poems often pointed heavenwards, secular topics were also dealt with. The issue of the Sunday opening of the Crystal Palace was fiercely debated in the mid-fifties, and this issue prompted 'The Sabbath Made for Man' by Ellen Roberts, a regular contributor to the poetry pages in the early years. The writer observes that the creatures in the natural world 'never stop their merry play/Because it is the sabbath day' but 'Man only makes a solemn pause,/In recognition of its laws.' She concludes that 'For him the sabbath was designed,/To him its benefits confin'd.' This means that 'wearied', man should accept the invitation to 'rest upon the sabbath day.'⁴³

A pit disaster prompted a ballad-style piece from a 'humble writer in a colliery district'. He gives 'the lessons of the sad event,' urging that 'in the faith and love of God/We henceforth seek to live.'⁴⁴ Sudden deaths always provided ideal material to illustrate the need to be prepared to meet your God. The fact that this piece was written by an ordinary reader of the periodical shows that poetry was also recognized as a form of communication open to all; there is no sense that it is in any way elitist. The Sunday periodicals played a significant role in the democratization of verse. As long as the sentiments were appropriate, contributions were sympathetically received. With sincerity as a major criterion, pious verse could be truly egalitarian. This fact is reinforced by the appearance, in the issue for 26 September 1863, of a group of poems by Grace Dickinson, who, a brief introduction tells the reader, was 'a poor woman... who died lately an inmate of the union workhouse at Halifax.' Apparently 'several pieces of poetry ... formerly appeared' in Sunday at Home, anonymously. The poems are commended for their 'tone of sincere and

cheerful piety.'⁴⁵

Poetry is certainly more than decoration in its use in Sunday at Home, but it seldom feels simply functional. It remains, in keeping with those original ideals, 'imaginative literature' with definable 'charms of style', always with the 'saving truth' in mind.

Sunday at Home reached a diverse readership. The periodical was available in the Cambridge Free Public Library; it was taken by the Parochial Magazine Association of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, in the City of London, where 290 copies were in circulation; it was read by London cab-drivers; it found its way into private homes, and into the workplace through philanthropic grants.⁴⁶

(vi) *Verse in the Bible Class Magazine*

A more narrowly targeted religious magazine, for younger readers, which spans the mid-Victorian period is the Bible Class Magazine, published by the Sunday School Union at one penny monthly. William Henry Watson explains the reasons for its issue:

With the year 1848, commenced the publication of the Bible Class Magazine, a religious miscellany designed especially for senior scholars, and junior teachers, with the rising youth in christian congregations generally. ... While every religious community, and almost every class of every community, had its appropriate monthly magazine, for them no adequate periodical had been established. A few excellent works ... had been sent forth, but the price of most, the denominational features of many, and the absence from all of the exact character required, still left the large body of senior scholars, and junior teachers, as a class, without a magazine.⁴⁷

Whilst all Sunday periodicals had some inherent element of didacticism, the Bible Class Magazine represents those titles designed with a more specific educative function in mind: to educate the teachers of Christian truth. Its association with the Sunday school movement gives it a characteristic role, and verse is once again made available to a wide, largely youthful, readership, in whom the right

habits of reading literary language are developed, as verse forms become associated with the saving truth.

In 1851, Christian Henry Bateman, the editor, was emphasising the fact that the Bible Class Magazine writers

comprise parties of several different sections of the christian church ... all of sound evangelical sentiment and true christian feeling.... Many numbers could be pointed out in which Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Methodists, and Congregationalists have combined in contributing to its pages. ⁴⁸

Bateman himself at this time was a minister of the latter group, but his ecumenism was fully demonstrated when he later continued his ministry in the Anglican church. Such ecumenical sentiments did not, of course, stretch to the Roman Catholics. The January number in 1851 reflected the prevailing anti-Catholic mood, in an article on 'My Own Bible' (the first of a series giving the history of the volume):

These are days, young readers, when false priests in the Establishment of our own land, deceiving agents of the so-called Church of Rome, and barefaced infidels of all ranks and grades in our country, are uniting to steal from your hands the precious volume for which your fathers bled... look well to it, that neither your love for, nor your confidence in, this precious volume be disturbed. ⁴⁹

Thus were both higher criticism and the Church of Rome dealt with in the same breath, brisk assertion standing for more reasoned argument.

Poetry has a significant role in the Bible Class Magazine, more particularly in Bateman's years as editor, during the first decade. He not only printed a wide range of current material from established writers and encouraged aspiring writers from among the readers, but he also made verse a focus of attention in a number of articles.

'Teach the Children Hymns' in the February number for 1852 asserts that 'there is reason to believe, that versified truth has peculiar force upon the common mind, as it is certain that it affords aid to

the memory.'⁵⁰ The writer, possibly Bateman himself as he had edited a standard children's hymn-book - The Children's Hymn-Book (Edinburgh 1845) - goes on to offer some opposition to the view that all writing for children should be simplified, believing that 'it is an error to confine children to the learning of children's hymns, because when they become older, these will have lost much of their fitness.'⁵¹

This very argument has indeed been recently offered by Lionel Adey in support of the negative persuasion that can occur. Adey claims that 'some responsibility for the widespread disbelief in the afterlife during this century rests with Victorian hymn-writers for failing to provide metaphors children would not outgrow.'⁵²

The poetry and music elements in the Bible Class Magazine were seen by Bateman as something to 'sweeten and enliven what otherwise might prove too dull,'⁵³ so he was not merely seeing verse as a mnemonic aid. There was an element of pleasure, of aesthetic appeal. The issues for 1854 contain a series of articles on 'The Figurative Language of the Holy Scriptures' by the Reverend C.K. Kirtlands, who claimed in his first article that as 'a considerable portion of the Holy Scriptures consists of poetry' it followed that 'some acquaintance with figurative language is necessary to a clear perception of the literary beauties of the word of God, to a correct understanding of many of its doctrines, and a true appreciation of its worth.'⁵⁴ Later in the series poetry is defined as 'more elevated, imaginative, artificial, and impassioned, than prose. It is peculiarly the language of the emotions.'⁵⁵ Thus readers were stimulated to think about the nature of poetry, as a genre that avoided intellectuality, and to see verse especially in relation to the Bible, which was always the point of reference.

In the May number for 1852 a generous five page allocation (of twenty-eight in all) was given to a single poem, a long narrative called 'The Little Pilgrim'. This poem was re-published some years later in the Children's Treasure, where it was run as a serial from February to October in 1870. It is an interesting piece, about a little girl who reads Pilgrim's Progress before she is old enough to understand much of it, and who takes a literal view of the events. Her guardian aunts discourage reading - it may 'hurt' the eyes - and one day in their absence Marian decides to go on the pilgrimage herself, armed with a basket of food and her Bible. She interprets all she meets in relation to Christian's journey, and believes, after various trials, she has come to the House Beautiful, after a kindly lodge keeper takes her up to the big house. The three sisters there recognize her childish errors but take seriously her love of Bunyan's story; after sending a message to her home, they keep her for a week to teach her the meaning of the allegory.

In this simply written piece the idea of the representational nature of literature is emphasized, and the need for interpretation. A literal reading is shown to be inadequate. Verse is obviously the ideal medium for expressing such ideas. The readers of the poem are urged to 'be earnest, as our Marian was,/To seek the road to Heaven.'⁵⁶ Setting children on the right path is very much the key-note of Sunday verse for the young, as the next chapter will demonstrate more fully.

The role of verse in Sunday at Home and the Bible Class Magazine is characteristic of its role in most Sunday reading periodicals. The material analysed here shows verse as an agent of both reinforcement and variety, working through either similarity or contrast of subject in relation to the prose context. Verse is used both for general

moralising and for specific topical comment; it can be a structural device, serving to link items or to illustrate points. It is viewed as in itself important as an aid to understanding divine truth, and a means of efficiently communicating Christian morality. As the most direct means of educating the imagination and enhancing intuitive understanding of religious ideas, Sunday verse has an important formative role, most particularly in the verse directed at children.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5, pp.102-128.

1. Local Preachers' Magazine (December 1851), 489. The poem appears as the last text page of the magazine.
2. For example, 'a humble writer in a colliery district' (Sunday at Home (April 1862), 254), and Lord Tennyson (Sunday at Home (November 1866), 694).
3. The Long Sunday (London, 1958), p.38.
4. G.W.E. Russell, The Household of Faith (London, 1902), p.306.
5. Christian Treasury (Edinburgh, 1846), Preface.
6. From 'The Children's Treasury', an anonymous poem in Children's Treasury (June 1873) 72.
7. 1848 Sunday School Union Report, p.28. The remark comes in a justification for the publication of the new Bible Class Magazine.
8. Publishers' Circular (1 August 1864) 410.
9. 'Introductory' to bound volume of 1866.
10. Advertisement to Number 1 (January 1870), inside front cover.
11. Churchman's Monthly Penny Magazine, (September 1852), 241-242.
12. Christian's Monthly Penny Magazine (1851), 71.
13. Christian Freeman (November 1856) 80.
14. Two official histories of the RTS, S.G. Green, The Story of the Religious Tract Society (London, 1899) and Gordon Hewitt, Let the People Read (London, 1949) suggest the date, incorrectly, to be 1853. Hewitt (p.50) followed a reference in Green (p.74), and made a firm statement of 1853 as the starting date. This error has been repeated as recently as 1986, in Louis Billington, 'The Religious Periodical and the Newspaper Press 1770-1870', in The Press in English Society from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Century, edited by M. Harris and A. Lee (Rutherford, NJ, 1986), pp.113-132.
15. RTS Fifty-first Annual Report (1850), p.ix.
16. Ibid., p.x.
17. RTS Sixty-fourth Annual Report (1863), p.10.
18. Ibid., p.11.
RTS Sixty-fifth Annual Report (1864), p.8.
19. RTS Eightieth Annual Report (1879), p.267.
20. Sunday at Home (4 May 1854), inside front cover.

21. RTS Sixty-fourth Annual Report (1863), p.11.
22. 'Address to Our Subscribers', Sunday at Home (4 May 1854), inside back cover.
23. RTS Sixty-sixth Annual Report (1865), p.10; Seventy-fifth AR (1874), p.59; Seventy-sixth AR (1875), p.57.
24. 'A Few Words to Our Readers', Sunday at Home (4 May 1854), 16.
25. Northrop Frye, The Great Code (San Diego, New York & London, 1982), p.3.
26. There were 16 pages per number, printing double column pages, in super-royal octavo.
27. Sunday at Home (15 June 1854), 111.
28. Ibid., 110.
29. Sunday at Home (2 August 1862), 484.
30. 'Address to Our Readers' (7 December 1854), inside front cover.
31. Sunday at Home (4 May 1854), 16.
32. The writer of these pieces (which were unattributed), Isabella Fyvie (Mayo), seems to acknowledge their limitations in her admission that 'I could not resist adding on my own initiative a few verses to the answers, and this innovation was much approved.' (Recollections (London, 1910), p.131.)
33. Sunday at Home (27 February 1864), 141.
(The answers: Elhanan, Zebah, Ishbosheth, Orpah. The city's name was Ezion-Geber.)
34. Sunday at Home (1 December 1866), 141.
35. Sunday at Home (29 March 1855), 203.
36. Sunday at Home (15 November 1862), 727-730.
37. Isobel Armstrong, Victorian Scrutinies (London, 1972), p.11. The Spedding review, to which Armstrong refers, is to be found in the Edinburgh Review, 77 (April 1843), 373-391 (p.377).
38. Sunday at Home (14 May 1864), 309.
39. Christian Year, 'Fifth Sunday after Easter'.
40. Sunday at Home (28 September 1854), 343.
41. Sunday at Home (29 March 1862), 204.
42. Sunday at Home (7 June 1862), 366.

43. Sunday at Home (27 July 1854), 207.
44. Sunday at Home (19 April 1862), 254-255.
45. Sunday at Home (26 September 1863), 621.
46. See Index and Catalogue of the Lending Department (Cambridge, 1871); Pure Literature Society Report for 1875 (London, 1875), p.41. (This Magazine Association also circulated 170 copies of The Day of Rest and 160 of the Quiver); May Sinclair, Mary Olivier: A Life (London, 1919), Book Two, IX, ii; 'Literature of the People', London Review (October 1859), 24-25.
47. W.H. Watson, The History of the Sunday School Union (London, 1853), p.155.
48. Bible Class Magazine (1851), Prefatory Note to annual volume.
49. Bible Class Magazine (January 1851), 3.
50. Bible Class Magazine (February 1852), 55-56.
51. Ibid., 56.
52. Hymns and the Christian 'Myth' (Vancouver, 1986), p.148.
53. Bible Class Magazine (1853), Preface to annual volume.
54. Bible Class Magazine (February 1854), 43.
55. Bible Class Magazine (November 1854), 296.
56. Bible Class Magazine (May 1852), 136.

CHAPTER 6 : SUNDAY VERSE FOR CHILDREN

*Read to him, Connie! The house is still,
 The week-day lessons, the week-day play,
 And the week-day worries are hushed away
 In the golden calm of the Holy Day;
 He will listen now if ever he will...*

*... Read to him, Connie! For it may be
 That your Sunday book, like a silver bar
 Of steady light from a guiding star,
 May gleam in memory, clear and far,
 Across the waves of a wintry sea.*

(from 'The Sunday Book', F.R. Havergal,
Under the Surface (1874), pp.243, 244.)

* * *

(i) Captive Readers: the Influence of Sunday Verse on the Young

Sunday verse for children offered its readers, simply and directly, the basic tenets of Christian belief and principles of virtuous behaviour. C.F. Alexander's second poem on the Holy Catholic Church, in her sequence on the articles of the creed, demonstrates this major aspect of children's verse:

*... All members of one body vast
 With JESUS for their Head,
 And sacraments whereby their souls
 Are born again and fed;*

*And Bishops good to order them,
 And Priests to train and teach, -
 This is the holy Church, wherein
 We have our places each.*

*Since we are members, then, of CHRIST,
 How holy should we be,
 How faithful to obey our Head,
 In truth and purity!*

*Since we are all made one in Him,
 How gentle should we prove,
 How peaceful in our ways and words,
 How tender in our love! 1*

Whilst it is true that Sunday verse was rarely subtle in its meaning, that written for young readers was the most unsophisticated and emphatic in its bald ideological intent. The consciously didactic note was much more conspicuous. Again to quote Alexander,

Do no sinful action,
 Speak no angry word,
 Ye belong to JESUS,
 Children of the LORD.

CHRIST is kind and gentle,
 CHRIST is pure and true,
 And His little children
 Must be holy too. ²

Such simplicity and directness are typical. A scathing critical response to Keble's Lyra Innocentium, or the Child's Christian Year (1846) emphasized the values attached to these qualities in verse for children:

the book is obscure in sentiment, harsh in versification, and totally unsuited to children. The author's language is too scholastic, and his thoughts, though sweet, too subtle and refined. ³

In the lines which preface this chapter, Havergal's image of the 'steady light from a guiding star' represents very well the sense of control attributed to the verse. The young Sunday reader was taught not merely how to behave like a Christian, but also introduced to the simple recognition of biblical types. Such knowledge provided a grounding for a more sophisticated understanding in the adult of the typological and emblematic elements as methods of figurative communication of religious ideas. This process can be seen at work in 'The Heartsease - Emblem of Sabbath Rest' by J. Loxley:

Dear, bright-looking HEART'S-EASE, thy smile seems to say, -
 'I'm an emblem of calm Sabbath rest
 I belong to the children who honour God's day,

And whose hearts his good Spirit hath blest.

Let the sorrowing seek me, - I'm gladsome and bright;
My charms are all born from above;
I bask 'neath the sunshine of heaven's own light,
And enjoy the sweet breathings of love.

Then let me, dear child, prove an emblem to thee
Of all that is lovely and fair,
Of that Sabbath in heav'n, where the spirit is free, -
Be thou a blest worshipper there.

Go, go, then, to Jesus, and oft let thy thought
Rest on Him who now reigneth in heav'n;
For, to those who on earth their dear Saviour have sought
Shall blessings eternal be giv'n. ⁴

We see here also an initiation into the notion so prevalent in Sunday verse, of the Victorian Sunday as a type and promise of heaven. This image is perhaps one of the most pronounced continuities existing between children's verse and that written for adult readers. It is as though the adult writers themselves retained this image of childhood teaching as an instinctive element of reassurance and hope. The work of Marianne Farningham, illustrated in the following chapter, gives further evidence of this common feature.

Another major element of continuity is the use of the Bible as a central point of reference. Matthew Arnold, in his role as school inspector, observed in an 1860 report that

it is not enough remembered in how many cases his reading-book forms the whole literature, except his Bible, of the child attending a primary school. If then, instead of literature, his reading-book, as is too often the case, presents him with a jejune encyclopaedia of positive information, the result is that he has, except his Bible, no literature, no humanizing instruction at all.⁵

As well as reflecting Arnold's concern for the humanizing rather than the purely informative aspect of education, this comment draws attention to the centrality of the Bible in a child's education. The influence of the Bible is everywhere apparent in the Sunday reading

published for children. As the next chapter demonstrates in the case of Marianne Farningham, the Bible was often the means of drawing a young reader on to taste both religious and secular verse. Farningham herself, in an essay on 'Family Reading' urged 'if the young are fond of poetry, let them read the Book of Job, some parts of the prophecies, and the Psalms.'⁶ This instinctive association of the Bible with the poetic was developed through childhood reading practices.

John Younger, second prize winner of an essay competition for working-men on the value of the sabbath, reflected on the poetic influence of his early Bible reading:

The poetry, the wise sayings, and the splendour of the whole, particularly of the book of Job, the descriptions of Isaiah...the music of the Psalms,...raised my young heart into a frame of admiration and mental enjoyment...Thus was poetry excited in my youthful mind.⁷

Sunday writers for all social groups drew on the Bible, a common cultural heritage which extended the democratic appeal of the verse. At a time when literacy was increasing, basic literacy often amounted to the ability simply to read the Bible. Kenneth Levine has pointed out that 'Protestant denominations ...have actively proselytized for literacy because private study of the Bible has been marked out as an important route to salvation.' Catholics adopted a different policy, seeing 'the priest as an indispensable interpreter of holy writ for his flock'. In consequence, their support for literacy 'lacked a specific doctrinal impetus.'⁸

Some of the Sunday verse for adults was obviously written with an awareness of limited degrees of literacy. The consequently simple approach has been illustrated in some of the hymn collections referred to in Chapter 4. To some extent the simplicity of this kind of writing

is a feature held in common with verse for children. However, there is a discernible difference. Whilst older children and semi-literate adults may be taken as much the same level of reader, younger children are sometimes approached in a slightly different way. Writers with this readership in mind might adopt a child's persona in their writing. As can be seen above, Alexander's work is written from the authoritative adult's viewpoint. This contrasts with the pose of a child adopted in the first person approach of Dr Judson, in his 'Verses for Little Children' :

Prayer to Jesus

Dear Jesus, hear me when I pray,
And take this naughty heart away;
Teach me to love thee, gracious Lord,
And learn to read thy Holy Word. ⁹

This use of the dramatically transferred 'I' effectively puts into the mouth of the child self-criticism ('naughty heart') and the wish for improvement ('Teach me to love thee'). In this way a moral Christian education is undertaken. Much of the Sunday prose aimed at children - brief narrative tracts or longer stories - sees children as themselves agents of goodness and reform. It is much more common to find the sinner, rather than the virtuous individual, in pious verse.

For many children the Bible was their first 'story-book', and it provided the basis for much of what was published, in prose and verse, for young readers. Both the Bible and hymn books were, of course, major focuses of the Sunday schools, and C.W. Bardsley acknowledged the influence of these schools on the development of children's reading in the nineteenth century:

It is to our Sunday Schools we owe a large amount of literature suited to the capacity of children.... I speak simply of our hymnology. Dr Watts did much for children, but it was left to our Sunday Schools to collect a body of songs and hymns for the use of the youth of the country.¹⁰

In his comprehensive work Victorian Conventions (1975), John Reed claims that the Victorian readiness to view life 'in symbolic or emblematic terms' derives from an acceptance of the idea of a pattern underlying life, and 'one fundamental pattern was that based on scriptural stories.'¹¹ These stories were offered in a variety of forms in addition to the Bible itself, and from an early age children became familiar with this material. For example, Mrs Joseph Fearn's Plain Rhymes for Plain People (1855) contained twenty stories from Genesis in verse. The pattern imposed by biblical stories is closely related to the larger moral design of Victorian literature. As Reed notes:

Behind much of Victorian literature were the now-explicit, now-implied conventional patterns and stylized characters or scenes that endowed it with a dimension which, accepted by readers of that time, are no longer immediately evident to modern readers; in most cases, those patterns and stylizations were moral.¹²

(ii) Early Verse Reading: Moral Alphabets

For children of more affluent families, Sunday alphabets constituted their earliest reading encounters with biblical subjects, sometimes in verse form. The examples examined range from 4d to 5s in price, appealing to a very broad middle to upper class range. Didactic intention is clear even from titles of works: The Alphabet of Animals Designed to Impress Children with Affection for the Brute Creation [1853]. The reader is told in an introductory poem to this volume

To them the Creator
 Has not given speech,
 But some twenty-four lessons
 They silently teach.

[The letters U and X are not included.]

In common with the general pattern of such works, Sunday alphabets give a boldly printed letter and appropriate word, supported by a scriptural extract or a verse, generally with illustration, from A for ANGEL to Z for ZACCHAEUS. An anonymous 'lady' who compiled The Little Christian's Sunday Alphabet, first published in 1849 and in its seventh edition by 1854 (Masters, 4d), explained the use of such works:

in my own nursery they have contributed to render the Sabbath a day of delight, and to attract the infant mind to the love of HOLY THINGS, while yet too young to admit of impressing on the understanding the beautiful histories of the Bible itself. ¹³

The title page addresses 'my Baby dear':

This is Sunday. Come away,
 You must be very good to-day,
 God has made this day to be,
 Holy kept, and piously;
 And I've a pretty book to show,
 Pleasant things you'll like to know.

The simple presentation and language of this work suit it to the obviously tender years of the child addressed. Each page contains two letters, each prefixed by a simple black and white illustration and followed by a couplet-rhyming quatrain (six lines occasionally). The letter S is for

the little STAR so bright,
 Twinkling kindly all the night,
 God makes it shine so wondrous fair,
 To mind you of His constant care.

There are echoes here of Jane Taylor's popular children's rhyme, 'The Star'.

Even at this early stage of reading, there is an attempt to bring in figurative expressions; in the case of R for ROCK, the simile introduces typological associations:

R is the ROCK, whence gushing burst
The cooling drink to quench their thirst,
And CHRIST is like a rock, you know,
Whence grace and blessing ever flow.

Here the frequently used type of the smitten rock is introduced in an explanatory manner, through simile. The Old Testament allusion is to Moses striking the rock of Horeb, on God's command, to produce water to allay the thirst of the Israelites. This physical refreshment points forward to the spiritual sustenance offered through Christ's blood at the crucifixion. The first couplet of 'C' makes good use of internal rhyme and slight alliteration to enforce the image of suffering on the cross:

C stands for CROSS, a painful thing,
With piercing nails, and ling'ring sting.

These alphabets obviously achieved more than simply teaching the child its letters: information was provided, but also a clear line of religious teaching and moral guidance. In A for ARK, the reader is told that the wicked 'perish'd in the flood', but 'Noah liv'd - for he was good.' B for BIBLE - 'in which good children oft should look' - persuades its readers that if 'they love its pages well,/Sweet blessings will around them dwell.'

A much more elaborate volume is Sunday Alphabet by C.C., illuminated by Owen Jones (1861),¹⁴ and published by Day and Son at five shillings. This handsomely designed alphabet adopts illuminated manuscript style. Only the right hand pages are printed, on heavy quality paper; the colouring is rich, the design sophisticated. Appropriately, the verse form is longer, using six lines rhyming ababcc. The tone, however, is similar: 'And God will keep His children too/If they will be like DANIEL true.' The letter H is more ambitious, with three words picked out: HEAVEN, HOLINESS and HOPE. The letter R is for REST, and this verse introduces a simply stated and effective summary of the common idea that Sunday is a type and promise of Heaven:

REST we from care as night by night
We dream our little griefs away
REST we from toil as week by week
We welcome back GOD's Holy Day
REST we from Sin, Oh truest REST
Of those who sleep on Jesus' breast!

Explicit moral aims are acknowledged on the title page of C.R.'s The Sunday Alphabet (Routledge, 1s and 2s 6d, [1864]): 'To Teach Little Folks How to Become Good.' This alphabet is rhymed in rather ragged couplets, with each letter appearing on a separate page, and the pairs of letters are linked by rhyme:

A
Stands for
ANGEL,
[illus.]
Ever glorious and bright,
Who dwells in yonder sky.

B
Stands for
BLESSED,
[illus.]
Which all children may become,
If earnestly they'll try.

The work concludes with a complete poem, in rather less ragged alternating rhyme with an occasional couplet, drawing together all the elements defined:

Like an ANGEL strive to be,
 Ever BLESSED, ever bright,
 The CHRIST our Saviour you will see,
 And shine, like DAVID, as a light.
 Turn from EVIL ways, and live!
 Pray to your FATHER, morn and night,
 For He is GOD, and will forgive,
 And make you HOLY, pure, and bright.
 Like ISAAC, in obedience prove,
 And heed, like JOHN, the voice above.
 The Lord is KING above all kings,
 And gave the LAMB our souls to free.
 Like MARY be in heavenly things.
 NATIONS' pride is vanity.
 No OFFERING pure will God despise:
 Follow PAUL in faith, and you will find
 A peace our QUEEN knows how to prize;
 As RUTH, be loving, gentle, kind;
 Like SAMUEL, serve the Lord, and pray;
 Be trustful as TIMOTHY; and say,
 'I'll be like Job of UZ, and walk Thy way.'
 VICE ever shun, although in bright array;
 WISE to salvation hope to be;
 The X Commandments hold most dear;
 In YOUTH your Maker learn to fear,
 Like ZECHARIAH, then you'll Jesus see.

The moral emphasis is characteristic, perhaps more prominent here for its emphatic reiteration. Children were expected to be paragons indeed.¹⁵ The allusion to Victoria ('who counsels all to read God's Holy Book' under the letter Q) also manages to interpolate a patriotic note.

(iii) Accessibility and Availability

Appropriate language for children was a recurrent concern. The matter is referred to in a poem which first appeared in the Christian Treasury, and was repeated in the Bible Class Magazine. Entitled 'The Sabbath School Teacher', the poem describes how the children gather 'as round a mother's knee' to hear 'the sweet story/Of our Saviour's infancy':

Not in language grave and stately,
 Nor laboured nor refined;
 But in words that fell like dew-drops
 Upon the tender mind. 16

Sunday schools brought children into contact with verse in a number of ways, reaching a much wider social range than the Sunday alphabets. Henry Herbert, a Gloucestershire shoemaker, in his verse autobiography describes the system of 'rewards' that was in common use in Sunday schools:

While there I stored the mind with good,
 And strove to gain a prize,
 And tickets were my sweet reward,
 The gems before my eyes.

My tickets gained a Bible, whence
 I learnt the way to heaven... 17 .

These tickets were commonly small oblongs of card or thick paper (about 4cm x 3cm), printed in detachable sheets of ten or twelve to a page and sold in packets. They were usually in a single colour, printed with a decorative border and a biblical text or verse. In the Annual Report of the Sunday School Union for 1850, it was recorded that between March and December of 1849 a 'New Series of Scripture Tickets, red and black,' was issued at '4d per gross'.¹⁸ A more elaborate design was published by Gall and Inglis of Edinburgh in about 1861: Twelve Sabbath School Reward Cards. The top half of each card carried a coloured illustration; these cost 6d per packet. Verse cards were often given a title:

Forgiveness

'Your sins are forgiven you for his name's sake.'
 Am I a child of God forgiven;
 Am I on life's rough tide,
 A little sailor bound for heaven,

With Jesus for my Guide?

Here the adult writer puts into the child-speaker's mouth a series of rhetorical questions to which the adult desires the child's affirmative answers. Again, the figurative element in the language illustrates the more imaginative approach of verse. Some verses were specially written, but familiar hymns were also used for this purpose. 'Glory to thee my God, this night' by Bishop Ken also appears on the same sheet as 'Forgiveness.'¹⁹

P.B. Cliff quotes further documentary evidence of the way such tickets were used:

one of the customs of the schools was to give little tickets every Sunday for regularity and punctuality of attendance, and once a year, probably at Christmas, prizes of small books were given to those who had most tickets.²⁰

These 'small books' - reward books - also made use of verse. Cliff quotes details:

sixpence would buy twenty-four of Dean and Sons diminutive Pictorial Reward Books, or sixteen of the Religious Tract Society's slightly larger midgets...More expensive were William Penny's penny Golden Reward Books.²¹

In around 1859, Nelson published fifty four-page rewards for sixpence. The majority of these include some verse. 'Dr Judson's Verses for Little Children' take up two pages of one reward book. The predominantly prose numbers include a concluding poem or single verse. A typical example of such material is 'Conscience', which follows an anecdote about a little boy who wishes to take a cake from a plate, claiming 'Mother won't know'. Virtuous sister points out that 'perhaps God counted' the cakes, and the 'boy's hand was stayed.'

CONSCIENCE

When a foolish thought within
 Tries to take us in a snare,
 Conscience tells us, 'It is sin,'
 And entreats us to beware.

If in something we transgress,
 And are tempted to deny,
 Conscience says, 'Your fault confess,
 Do not dare to tell a lie.'

In the morning when we rise,
 And would fain omit to pray,
 'Child, consider,' Conscience cries;
 'Should not God be sought to-day?'

When, within his holy walls,
 Far abroad our thoughts we send,
 Conscience often loudly calls
 And entreats us to attend.

When our angry passions rise,
 Tempting to revenge an ill,
 'Now subdue it,' Conscience cries;
 'Do command your temper still.'

Thus, without our will or choice,
 This good monitor within,
 With a secret, gentle voice,
 Warns us to beware of sin.

But if we should disregard
 While this friendly voice would call,
 Conscience soon will grow so hard
 That it will not speak at all.

There is a clear link between anecdote and poem, both attempting to explain and illustrate the concept of conscience. The sustained personification of Conscience in the poem helps to give a more vivid sense of this controlling and persuasive force to the child, and it is not at all threatening, this 'good monitor' with its 'secret, gentle voice.'

Restraint and self-control were constantly reiterated virtues in Sunday verse, even more so for children than adults. The child's innate responsiveness to rhyme and rhythm would be likely to prompt

re-reading of the verse (in preference to the prose contents of these reward books) which would be thus learnt and remembered. The purpose of these little books is identified in one of the items quoted in A.W. Tuer's anthology:

'Well my dear children,' said Mrs Heathcote 'you have been very quiet and diligent and I hope these little poems may be the means of impressing on your minds, sentiments of far more value than this little reward of your exertion.' ²²

It is important to remember that in poorer families in the Victorian period, this system provided literature for a child to possess, involving no expense. The Sunday schools contributed in a very practical way to the idea of owning literature, as well as borrowing from their libraries. Other Sunday school publications were nominally for sale, but in many cases they were actually given away, as rewards or prizes, to encourage pious reading. This happened particularly with periodicals, which were actively circulated by the Sunday schools; there were magazines for both young and old Sunday scholars, such as the Bible Class Magazine (discussed in Chapter 5) and its junior counterpart, the Child's Own Magazine. This was printed in smaller format than the Bible Class Magazine, and at half the price at a halfpenny a month. The first issue carefully explained 'To the Younger Children in Sunday School' that the Sunday School Union made books, and magazines: 'This little, cheap, pretty Magazine will have a picture in it. It will be sold to you on the first day of every month. Only one half-penny will be charged for it.'²³ The importance of price in potentially extending circulation to the poorer classes is evident.

Like its senior counterpart, the Child's Own Magazine regularly printed verse. In the first issue 'Jesus, tender Shepherd hear me' (by Mary Duncan) appears before an article about a seven-year old's death, in which she used the hymn as a prayer:

Jesus, tender Shepherd, hear me!
 Bless thy little lamb to-night;
 Through the darkness be thou near me;
 Watch my sleep till morning light.

All this day thy hand has led me,
 And I thank thee for thy care;
 Thou hast clothed me, warmed me, fed me;
 Listen to my evening prayer.

Let my sins be all forgiven;
 Bless the friends I love so well;
 Take me, when I die, to heaven,
 Happy there with thee to dwell. ²⁴

The recurrent theme of death is remarkably prominent in verse for children, as it is in adult Sunday verse, with death a frequent fact of life,²⁵ and preparing to meet your end an issue of immediate concern to even the youngest.²⁶ This poem offers in its gentle and protective image of Christ a note of reassurance, which is reinforced by the firm trochaic measure. Implicit is the idea that Christ will also watch over the 'darkness' of death until the 'morning light' of heaven, itself the ultimate 'happy' home.

(iv) The Middle Classes and the Propagation of Children's Verse

Publishers, recognising the potential of the Sunday reading market for children, aimed their publications at the upper rather than lower social range, which was largely supplied by philanthropic concerns, such as the Religious Tract Society or the Sunday School Union. The commercially published works, which included specially compiled anthologies, were often advertised as suitable for Sunday School rewards and prizes. Although priced beyond the range of many, the

intention was that the volumes would be bought by the charitably inclined to present as gifts or prizes.²⁷ A glance at Appendix A under 'Children' and 'Little' gives some idea of the range of periodicals available; there were others that did not so obviously label themselves, such as My Sunday Friend, Sunshine, The Lamp of Love.

The Sunday Scholar's Budget of Good Stories and Pictures (Elliott Stock, [1871]) was a typical anthology aimed at the middle-class market. Predominantly a prose collection, it included a ballad-style narrative, 'Harry Hartland's Rescue,' which was also published separately as a verse tract for the less affluent. This piece is characteristic of much pious narrative material offered in verse. Young Harry, from a 'humble home' lost his sailor father when Harry was 'a merry boy of eight years old'. The father's parting words on his final visit home had been 'Be sure the children go to church/And never miss their Sunday-school' (p.2).

At first Harry puts his trust in 'One who rules the stormy wave' (p.3), and when the father fails to return Harry is 'a comfort' to his mother. However, though 'in the main a steady boy/Harry was sometimes off his guard.' On these occasions he refuses to listen to the warnings of his mother about the 'idle, wicked boys' (p.4) he chooses for company. One fateful Sunday Harry elects to go with these boys rather than attend Sunday school. They go rowing, get caught in a storm and are driven out to sea. It is morning before a 'freighted ship' (p.8) comes to their rescue; although it takes the boys on board, it sails on to its destination 'further down the Western shore.' The poet returns to the boys' families at this point to illustrate their distress. Harry's sister, Alice, urges her mother, 'let's pray for Harry's safe return' (p.9).

Three weeks later, with no sign of Harry, Alice prepares for Christmas by knitting a muffler for her absent brother and decorating the cottage with 'sprigs of evergreen'. On Christmas eve, 'a gentle tapping at the door' reveals the miscreant, a 'bare-foot boy' (p.11), duly penitent. After the inevitable rejoicing, the poem concludes with a picture of the three boys 'in the Sunday school/Resolved to live far different lives' (p.14).

The recurring pattern in the narratives of virtue stained, repentance, forgiveness, re-dedication to virtue may prompt the charge of lack of credibility. It may well be that the majority of sinners did not repent in real life, but the constant reiteration of this pattern offers more than a literary cliché: it is an embodiment of an active belief, or perhaps devout wish. Repetition is reassurance, an affirmation of belief, or an incantation to make the thing true. The writing in 'Harry Hartland's Rescue' is undistinguished, but the pace is brisk, the metre handled competently, and there is sensitivity to changes of mood. The derivative elements ('The year was waning to its close,/Fast fell the sear and yellow leaf') would not have been recognized by many of the poem's original readers. Ending on the word 'joy', the writer provides a suitable sense of climax, and teaches the rewards of prayer and penitence. By introducing the sister, the poet offers some appeal for girls as well as boys - it was usually Victorian boys who had 'adventures' and were expected to enjoy reading about them; girls sinned by acts of vanity. Sexual stereotyping was implicit in these works: little girls were virtuous when home-loving and helpful about the house, whilst boys faced danger out of courage or folly. The title of this poem reminds the thoughtful reader that Harry's rescue was moral and spiritual as well as physical.

(iv) The Roles of Sunday Verse for Children

In addition to its obvious didactic and moral roles, Sunday verse for children was both a unifying and a divisive phenomenon. It made its appeal through the liking of all young children for rhyme and regular rhythm, and drew on the common heritage of the Bible and Christianity. However, commercially such verse was presented with distinct social divisiveness, reflected in the cheapness or extravagance of production and price. Content, too, was influenced by class, with virtue defined according to status. Thus upper and middle-class children were urged to help the poor, the 'blest' being those who showed 'love for the humblest of the human race.'²⁸ Virtue for the poor lay in enduring patiently their earthly trials, awaiting their heavenly reward. All children were expected to be obedient, and Sunday verse for younger readers placed great emphasis on this quality:

For when in His childhood
Our dear Lord was here,
He too was obedient
To His Mother dear.²⁹

The predominant attitudes were clearly middle-class, and the inculcation of what G.B. Shaw, through the voice of Alfred Doolittle, called 'middle-class morality' inevitably fills much of this versifying by middle-class writers. C.F. Alexander's popular volume Hymns for Little Children (1848) reflected the typical reinforcement of class roles. She describes 'sweet white daisies' that remind her of 'children bred in lowly cot.' They are appropriately 'modest, meek and quiet,/And contented with their lot.' By contrast, lilac or acacia blossoms 'on the tall trees' are likened to 'children of the high and

great' and they are 'gracious, good and gentle,/Serving God in their estate.' She concludes that 'You must be content and quiet,/Your appointed stations in' and 'they all shall meet in Heaven/Who have served Him here below.'³⁰

While Sunday verse for children, through cheaper publications, extended the social range of its readership in a desire to extend Christian faith, it simultaneously strengthened those social barriers it sought to cross. The verse reflects a Christianity that reinforced the status quo: it encouraged the wealthier child to do good to the poor, the poorer child to be good by enduring patiently the trials of this life. To escape the divisiveness of class, the Victorians had to reach Heaven - ironically, only achieved by behaving according to 'appointed stations', in which you could afford either pennies or shillings for your Sunday verse. A significant proportion of material published for children made use of verse - acknowledging its powers as a didactic tool. In spite of the potential for appeal across all social groups, the marketing of children's verse tended to target specific social groups in individual publications. Hymn books were to some extent the most democratic collections of verse, though even here there was likely to be some acknowledgement of readers' social status, either in the material itself, or (more often) in the actual production of the volume. Hymns books for children range from 1d to 3s 6d, though their contents are often very similar.

A high proportion of the verse published for children in the nineteenth century fell into the category of Sunday verse. As Brian Alderson has pointed out,

those volumes designed for the child's entertainment or friendly instruction were probably far outstripped by those prepared for his moral or spiritual edification. Such books had long been staple fare in any publisher's catalogue, for they derive from one of the earliest traditions of writing for children.³¹

With such an intensive training in this kind of reading, children of all classes could be expected to be receptive to similar writing in later years. They were educated in a range of figurative reference, enabling an intuitive imaginative understanding to develop. It seems that the prevalence of this kind of verse for children had much to do with the flourishing of Sunday verse for all age groups in the mid-Victorian period, as nineteenth century children grew up knowing and loving verses by such writers as Isaac Watts, Ann and Jane Taylor and C.F. Alexander,³² amongst many others of less distinguished name. Early childhood reading inevitably had a strong formative influence. This fact is clearly demonstrated in the life of Marianne Farningham, who is the subject of the next chapter.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6, pp.132-151.

1. C.F. Alexander, Hymns for Little Children (London, 1850), No.16*. (There are two poems numbered 16 in editions succeeding the first. This, the second, usually bears an asterisk against the number.)
2. Ibid., no.5.
3. [Joshua Fitch], 'Children's Literature', London Review (January 1860), 470-500, (p.498).
4. J. Loxley, Childhood's Daily Offering and the Breathings of Flowers (London, 1853), p.25.
5. Matthew Arnold, 'General Report for the Year 1860', Reports on Elementary Schools 1852-1882 (London, 1889), p.87.
6. Home Life (London, [1869]), p.54.
7. The Light of the Week (London, 1849), pp.29-30.
8. K. Levine, The Social Context of Literacy (London, 1986), p.15.
9. Published in Nelson's Fifty Reward Books (London, [c.1859]).
10. C.W. Bardsley, Memorials of St. Ann's Church, Manchester (Manchester, 1877), p.139.
11. John Reed, Victorian Conventions (Ohio, 1975) p.24.
12. Ibid., pp.3-4.
13. The Little Christian's Sunday Alphabet, seventh edition (London, 1854), Preface.
14. Owen Jones (1809-1874) was an architect and ornamental designer. He was appointed superintendent of the works of the Great Exhibition, in 1851, and in 1852 became joint director of the decoration of the Crystal Palace. He specialized in interior decoration, and also produced many illuminated editions. His major work was Grammar of Ornament (1856), a massive and lavishly illustrated work.
15. Susan Tamke has discussed the way hymns reflect Victorian cultural imperialism. See Chapter 2, n.39.
It is not just in hymns that such evidence is found.
16. Bible Class Magazine (April 1853), 105.
17. Autobiography of Henry Herbert, A Gloucestershire Shoemaker, and Native of Fairford, second edition (London, 1876), pp.13-14.
18. Sunday School Union Annual Report (1850), p.19.

19. Sunday School Reward Tickets, no publisher or date. Copy in British Library was acquired in 1857.
20. P.B. Cliff, The Rise and Development of the Sunday School Movement in England 1780-1980 (London, 1986), p.92. (Quoting a D.W. Simon article from the Sunday School Chronicle of 8 February 1906.)
21. Ibid., p.155. (Quoting from a Sunday School Chronicle article on reward books, 13 November 1952.)
22. A.W. Tuer, Stories from Old-Fashioned Children's Books (London, 1899), p.350. From 'The Young Reviewers' (Darton, 1821); quoted by P.E. Morgan in 'Reward Books', Notes and Queries (31 July 1943), 70.
23. Child's Own Magazine (July 1852), 3.
24. Ibid., pp.5-6.
25. 'From an average of 22.4 [per thousand] in the decade from 1841 to 1851 the national death rate fell slightly to 22.2 during the next decade, rose again to 22.5 during the 1860s and still remained at 22 over the five years from 1871 to 1876. Infant mortality remained more or less constant around 150 per 1000 live births.' (Asa Briggs, Victorian Cities, rev. edition (Harmondsworth, 1968), p.19.

'A newborn child of the working classes had just about one chance in two of reaching the age of five; a child of the higher classes, four chances in five. The average age of death in London was twenty-seven years.' (John W. Dodds, The Age of Paradox: A Biography of England 1841-1851 (London, 1953), p.163.)
26. Although speaking of death-bed scenes in novels, Walter E. Houghton made a pertinent observation just as applicable to the role of death in pious verse:
 'When feelings of profound love and pity are centered on a beautiful soul who is gone forever, the least religious affirmation, the slightest reference to heaven or angels, or to reunion with those who have gone before...was sufficient to invoke a powerful sense of reassurance.'
 (The Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830-1870 (New Haven, 1957), p.277.)
27. See, for example, Sampson and Low's advertisement in the Publishers' Circular (1 December 1859) 660, for 'Presentation and Prize Books', or Simpkin, Marshall & Co's advertisement for 'Superior Cheap School Prizes and Presents', Publishers' Circular (15 May 1856); 217.
28. From an anonymous poem, 'Who are the Blest?', Baptist Youth's Magazine (December 1859), 284.
29. C.F. Alexander, Hymns for Little Children (London, 1848), no.25.

30. Ibid., no.30. This volume was in its 71st edition in 1900, according to the English Catalogue for that year. Its popularity with children is reflected in 'The Village School on Sunday', a poem appearing in Good Words for the Young (1 March 1871):

Rosy is diligent and bright,
 But when they tell her to repeat
 That dogs delight to bark and bite,
 She pouts, and shuffles with her feet;

And, raising to the Vicar's face
 Two eyes like blue forget-me-nots,
 Says, half afraid to lose her place,
 That she is tired of Doctor Watts!

'But what will Rosy like to say?'
 The answer comes with ready ease-
 'I'll learn my lesson, if I may,
 From "Hymns for Little Children," please.'

And then she makes an eager start,
 And cooing like a baby-dove,
From her sweet heart repeats by heart
 Those hymns that little children love. (p.258)

31. Brian Alderson, 'Tracts, Rewards and Fairies: the Victorian Contribution to Children's Literature', in Essays in the History of Publishing edited by Asa Briggs (London, 1974), pp.258, 260.
32. Isaac Watts, Divine and Moral Songs and Ann and Jane Taylor, Hymns for Infant Minds were constantly in print throughout the century. Alderson claims that Watts's work 'had enormous popularity as a Victorian Sunday book and all manner of editions were produced, varying in style from barely legible penny chapbooks to the imposing "graphotype" table-book which Nisbet published in 1866.' (Alderson, p.260.)
 C.F. Alexander's popularity is testified in n.30 above.

III : A WOMAN'S WORLD

CHAPTER 7

READER TO WRITER : MARIANNE FARNINGHAM

(i) Origins of a Literary Life

The educational influence of Sunday reading and its contribution to a more democratic literature are seen in many of the lives of minor Victorian literary and political figures. A particularly good example of one whose interest in poetry closely associated with religion led to a literary career which made her self-supporting is Marianne Farningham. At her death in 1909, she warranted an obituary in the Times, in which she was described as 'for half a century well known and very popular among a large section of the religious public.' This renown derived in part from her work with a Baptist girls' bible class in Northampton, and from her writings in the Christian World, in which 'scarcely an issue appeared without a contribution over her name. Her hymns and other poems, and her sketches of parts of the country visited on her lecturing tours would be hard to count.'¹

Mary Ann Hearn, or Marianne Farningham as she was to become known, published an autobiography near the end of her life, A Working Woman's Life (1907).² She was born on 17 December 1834, daughter of Joseph Hearn, 'a small tradesman.' His wife, Rebecca, was the daughter of 'a working paper-maker' who was a Nonconformist preacher. Brought up in modest circumstances, 'a poor village girl', the eldest child of the Hearn family was greatly influenced by her devout Baptist upbringing. She was taught to read by her paternal grandmother, who, in Farningham's words, 'thought beautiful thoughts and expressed them in beautiful language. She wrote poetry, and her prayers always seemed to take me into heaven.'³

The young child's reading material, as was common in poorer homes, was predominantly the Bible, and Farningham's experience represents that of many in similar circumstances, though perhaps she was more precocious than most:

I was thought to be rather a prodigy because when I was six years old I could read any chapter in the Bible. The Bible, indeed, was my only lesson-book then and for years after. How I loved it! In it I found an inheritance of wealth which has made me rich all my life. ⁴

Sunday evenings provided a regular story-time, with Farningham's mother reading from the illustrated family Bible:

All the words of Jesus grew so familiar to us that we were never able to forget them after. We were taught to repeat them reverently long before we could understand them, and they have never seemed more beautiful than in those first days. But we had our Old Testament favourites too; Baby Moses was always 'a dear little thing', and Joseph in the pit, and Daniel in the lions' den, were tragedies which, when we were away by ourselves, we often acted. The Bible was in our home the children's library. We were never told fairy-tales, but our mother used often to recite to us Jane Taylor's 'Moral Songs', and we had our share of old nursery rhymes, and dearly loved 'Old Mother Hubbard' and 'Little Red Riding-Hood', though I am not quite sure that they held their own with Jonah and the whale. ⁵

Farningham's early education was thus similar to that of many brought up in a devout family. It was Sunday reading, predominantly the Bible, that moulded her own literary tastes, though in such a family the Bible was not, of course, reserved for Sundays alone.

Other brief literary memories of her childhood reinforce the religious emphasis in her reading. Her grandmother taught her Isaac Watts's almost entirely monosyllabic prayer:

May I live to know and fear Thee,
Trust and love Thee all my days,
Then go dwell for ever near Thee,
See Thy face, and sing Thy praise.

At the age of seven or eight, Farningham was given a copy of the Sailors' Magazine to read, and remembered two poems from it which made enough impression for her to recall them in her autobiography over sixty years later:

One was about a family Bible, and the last line of each stanza was:

'The old-fashioned Bible that lay on the stand.'⁶
The other was the hand of an angel that led me into a wonderful world of vivid imagination and unutterable joy. It was 'The Better Land', by Felicia Hemans. I wish I could describe, even if only so far as I am able to live it again, the strange, sweet emotions which overcame me as I read those lines. I remember that having read through the poem, I was obliged, to prevent myself from being overcome by faintness, to put down the book and go to the door for a breath of fresh air... . How the music and the rhythm charmed me! Quite what I saw I cannot remember, as I repeated softly to myself -

Is it far away in some region old,
Where rivers wander o'er sands of gold,
Where the burning rays of the ruby shine,
And the diamond lights up the secret mine,
And the pearl gleams forth from the coral strand:
Is it there, sweet mother, this better land? ⁷

It is evident from such memories that Biblical reading and hymn-like verses were strong formative influences on Farningham as a writer. Her reaction to the Felicia Hemans' poem is interesting. Heightened emotions, felt to the point of a physical reaction, prompted by 'music and rhythm' - two inter-related elements prominent in the cadences of the Bible - suggest a kinship with a religious experience. Once again the genteel acceptability of religious intensity is in evidence in this permitted heightened emotional response to decorous but none the less intense language. The Hemans' poem presents an image of Heaven - the 'Better Land' of the title - as something far superior to the idyllic images sketched by a youthful speaker to his mother, who tells him 'Dreams cannot picture a world so fair.' The boy's images of the land, richly described, have several points of contact with biblical imagery. The lines quoted by

Farningham suggest links with Proverbs 20. 15: 'There is gold and a multitude of rubies: but the lips of knowledge are a precious jewel', and Job 28. 18: 'No mention shall be made of coral, or of pearls: for the price of wisdom is above rubies.' The Hemans' poem, like 'The Family Bible', was a popular anthology piece. 'The Better Land' is also alluded to in one of Farningham's early poems in Christian World, 'A Crown for the Faithful', which begins 'How oft come floating o'er me visions of a "better land."' 8

Looking back on her life, Farningham saw one of the happiest formative influences in being 'made to learn by heart long passages of Scripture.' 9 Her response to the nature of the language of the Bible and hymns is significant:

Let no-one think that this was ever a hardship. The grand themes, and the stately, beautiful language in which they were told, fed my very life. I think the first I learned was the twenty-third psalm, and there has never been any time when every sentence has not appealed to me. The fifty-first also was a great favourite- it expressed so much of what I felt. The Gospel of St. John I learned from beginning to end, and the heart and mind of the child never saw the slightest difficulty in it. Many chapters in the other Gospels were also committed to memory, and some from the Epistles. Naturally I did not understand them, nor even try to, but I knew that they dealt with high things, and delighted in the words. As to the hymns which I learned, and repeated to my teachers, I am amazed that books containing them were ever put into the hands of children. 10

Feeling is paramount, in association with the sensuous enjoyment of words. These elements, together with the 'heart and mind of the child' are what inform the writing of the adult in later life. Such a strong sense of simple emotional commitment seems common in both writers and readers of Sunday verse. There is an essentially unsophisticated air about much of the material. The early learning of biblical language makes it of value in itself, and what is said or meant is of less significance than the appropriate emotional response. This reaction is typical of the Victorian response to pious verse. The

response was clearly more important than the value of the verse itself. Formal considerations lagged far behind the intuitive perceptions.

The influence of the hymn is evident in Farningham's verse. Her disapproval of some hymns was directed at unsuitable subjects for children, in particular hell:

There is a dreadful hell,
And everlasting pains,
Where sinners must with devils dwell
In darkness, fire, and chains.

Of learning these words (by Watts), Farningham comments:

We sang the words glibly enough and without much thought of what they meant, but I am none the less sure that the theology of the day, and particularly of those hymns, had considerable influence on the minds of the young singers. Hell was a very real thing to me, and I had a curious fancy, when a very young child, that it was underground, and that there was one entrance to it from a certain place just outside Farningham. ¹¹

The wiser adult can look back to the influence of such hymns with disapproval, whilst admitting that the child might enjoy them. She claimed one of her 'chief favourites' as a child was 'Young as I am with pilgrim feet', in spite of the fact that it was making them sing 'what was not true', in the relentless gloom communicated by the final lines of each verse:

'Prepare to leave this barren land.'
'My little heart was filled with woe.'
'Unlike this gloomy vale of tears.' ¹²

At home, apart from the Bible, Farningham's reading as a child was chiefly from periodicals, and offers a further insight into their role of propagating Sunday verse to a wide readership. Farningham records that her father 'gave us two monthly magazines published by the Sunday

School Union, the Teacher's Offering and the Child's Companion.¹³ Both of these published verse.

Farningham owed her start on a literary career (apart from some early verses published in the Gospel Herald and the Christian Cabinet)¹⁴ to Jonathan Whittemore, minister at the Baptist Church in Eynsford from 1852. He was already much involved in the publishing world, and was an early critic of Farningham's youthful verses. He edited the monthly Baptist Messenger (started in 1854), and determined on publishing a weekly paper for the Nonconformists. Apart from inviting Farningham to contribute verses to the first and successive issues of the Christian World, Whittemore lent her books, including Jane Eyre, and gave her a copy of Shakespeare. The latter particularly caused much scandalized disapproval. Farningham herself had been taught that 'it was wicked to read novels', but it is evident that the respectability of verse goes unquestioned. She resisted all persuasions to return the copy of Shakespeare, and her response showed her instinctive point of literary reference: 'One thing surprised me very much; it was to find some expressions which I had quite thought were only to be found in the Bible!' ¹⁵

(ii) Farningham and the Christian World

When it first appeared in April 1857, the Christian World was filling a gap in the realm of religious periodicals. Its Nonconformist base did not prohibit the paper from being an inter-denominational journal. Marianne Farningham claimed in her autobiography that 'it was only when the Christian World became the chronicle of the Churches that men and women began to understand each other.'¹⁶ This was an extravagant claim, but the paper's tolerant motto suggested that it wished to create harmony: 'In things essential, unity; in things

doubtful, liberty; in all things, charity.' The Christian World's prospectus announced it as a 'Companion for Leisure Hours, A Christian Treasury, and Readings for Sundays at Home, and as a Record of Passing Events.' The first number, in 'A Word to our Readers', made clear its further aims:

The projectors of this journal believe that the progress of popular education cannot be more effectually advanced than by a cheap and thoroughly healthy literature, such as that which it is their purpose to supply. They rejoice to know that of late years numerous efforts, more or less successful, have been made by Christian philanthropists to create reading for the people of so attractive a nature, and at so low a price, as to drive out of the market much debasing rubbish produced by a ribald press. But notwithstanding all that has yet been done, there is still, unhappily, abundance of room, and great necessity for augmented exertions in the same good cause; and we appeal, therefore to all true friends of the people - especially to those who are ever foremost in labours of this sort, ministers of the Gospel, Sunday school teachers, and church members generally - to aid us in establishing a cheap family newspaper [it was priced at 1d], conducted on pure principles, and pervaded by a catholic spirit. ¹⁷

Once again the combative note is sounded against the proliferation of 'debasing rubbish.' The prospectus's avowed aim to provide 'Reading for Sundays at Home' prompted a controversy over the question of whether it would prove a Sabbath breaker; Farningham summarized the debate in her autobiography:

It would be the thin end of the wedge, many Sunday school teachers thought, if it were read on Sunday in the homes of the people! Mr Whittemore hoped and intended that it should be, and its religious character was strictly maintained. All the same, many parents and grandparents insisted upon its being rigorously put away with most other things that were pleasant on Saturday nights. It would be interesting, if we could possibly discover how many people keep it especially for Sunday reading now. ¹⁸

Part of the problem was the varied nature of the reading material provided by Christian World. The 'Word to our Readers' in the first issue elaborated on this point:

It must be manifest to all that were the religious public fully alive to the influence, whether for good or for evil, of low-priced serial publications, their number would speedily become multiplied a hundred fold. But, although this is not so at present, it is exceedingly encouraging to observe that correct views upon the subject are becoming increasingly prevalent in England. No longer is it felt to be necessary to defend the propriety of Tales and Sketches as mediums for the impartation of moral and religious truth; and there can be no question that the time has come when this species of composition will have to be more largely than ever employed if the elder scholars in our Sabbath Schools, and the children of Christian parents generally, are to be preserved from the baleful influence of those irreligious writings that are presented to them in this pleasing and impressive shape. ¹⁹

Evidently offence was caused in some quarters by 'this species of composition' [ie 'Tales and Sketches']; however, the editorial aim to 'interest all and give offence to none' was no doubt over-ambitious in the circumstances. A considerable success in terms of circulation was achieved, which perhaps lent weight to the argument for the use of fiction in Sunday reading. After its first ten years of publication, the Christian World had a weekly circulation of over one hundred thousand, according to the proclamation in the issue of 8 February 1867.

Sunday school readers were catered for in the section entitled 'Children's Treasury'. By early 1860, this special market was acknowledged in the production of a sister paper, the Sunday School Times and Home Educator, to which Farningham also contributed, and of which she eventually became the editor (in 1885). As the 'first halfpenny paper on record' and 'within the reach of the very poorest,'²⁰ the Sunday School Times reached a circulation of 25,000 copies in its first year.²¹ It may have been the first half-penny paper known to Marianne Farningham, but she was wrong about its position as first of its kind in this respect. The Child's Own Magazine commenced in 1852 at a halfpenny a month and the Sabbath

School Messenger started in 1857 also at a halfpenny an issue (monthly), in a large format four page number. It may be true that the Sunday School Times was the first such weekly publication. It proclaimed its aims to 'teach only those truths which are held in common by all Evangelical Christians, and can be proved by reference to the Holy Scriptures.' ²²

(iii) Farningham as Sunday Poet

Mary Ann Hearn was launched on her career as Marianne Farningham, Sunday writer, with a poem in the first issue of Christian World, entitled 'Lord Save Us: We Perish'. As she was 'only a poor village girl' she had chosen the pen-name 'Echo', but Whittemore suggested the alternative that was to become her professional writing name. This poem was typical of much that followed:

Our fragile barks are tossed on life's rough ocean,
The tempest draweth near,
And we are driven about in wild commotion,
And well nigh faint with fear.

Above our head the dense black cloud is lowering,
The vivid lightnings flash,
The heaving billows are around us roaring,
The mighty thunders crash.

Far from our home, and all we love and cherish,
Our way we cannot see;
All, all is dark - Lord save us or we perish,
Our eyes are turned to Thee.

Abide with us while yet the tempest rages,
And shield us from the strife;
Hide us within Thy cleft, O 'Rock of Ages',
And still preserve our life.

Speak to the waters: - even they obey Thee,
Thou hold'st them in Thy hand;
Hasten our voyage o'er the deep, we pray Thee,
And bring us safe to land.

Receive us at the blissful port of Heaven,
The shore of cloudless peace,
And our heart's praises shall to Thee be given,

In songs that never cease. 23

The biblical prompting for the title, and central idea - Matthew 8. 24-5 - is developed in the language and details of the poem, with the 'tempest' and the disciples' fearful response. Mingled with the biblical influence, in the second half of the poem the influence of hymnody is evident, with echoes of Lyte's 'Abide with me', Toplady's 'Rock of Ages', and Bishop Heber's 'When through the torn sail'. The first verse of the latter demonstrates this (possibly unconscious) influence:

When through the torn sail the wild tempest is streaming,
When o'er the dark wave the red lightning is gleaming,
Nor hope lends a toy the poor seamen to cherish,
We fly to our Maker, 'Save, LORD, or we perish.'

The echoes, of course, are as much those of a literary tradition, combining typology, direct quotation from and paraphrase of, as well as allusion to, the Bible. Most Sunday writers seemed content to share in the pool of stock ideas and conventional images; plagiarism would never have been considered an appropriate charge. The image of the ship at sea, subject to the elements, and brought safely to port by its pilot is, in whole or part, a recurring idea in religious verse: Tennyson's 'Crossing the Bar' is perhaps the best known and most accomplished example of the period outside hymns. (It was itself set as a hymn, by Parry, in 1903, though its more privately personal note would exclude it from many definitions of a hymn.)

A high proportion of Farningham's verse is derivative: the piece referred to on p.158, 'A Crown for the Faithful', depends on more than an allusion to Felicia Hemans' poem. It is based on a verse from Revelation, from which it takes the idea of a crown as reward for a faithful life. (Revelation, 2. 10) Christ is described by her as

'lone and dreary, faint and weary', echoing the phrase from Edmeston's 'Lead us, heavenly father, lead us' (first published in 1821, and set to music in 1847). The fact that the language offered variations on the familiar was no doubt one of the appealing aspects of such writing - for both writer and readers. The writer is working from within a tradition, closer perhaps to an oral tradition in its lack of originality and dependence on stock images, inviting the reader to participate. The whole process is one of reinforcement, and for writers and readers of all classes this familiarity was reassuring. There was a sense that Sunday verse was not such as only 'great' writers could produce; it was a democratic genre, inviting the less literate to participate.

The hymn acknowledged as Farningham's 'most famous' in the Northampton Herald's obituary memoir, 'Just as I am, Thine own to be', was written originally for one of the annual Easter services of the Northants Sunday School Union, and was at that stage called 'A Boy's Hymn'. After its successful use locally, the piece was distributed elsewhere, later being set to music by a clergyman as 'The Confirmation Hymn', by which name it became known, and was later to be published in the Methodist Hymn Book (1933). The hymn was also used in the diocese of Truro where it gained the favour of the Bishop.²⁴ This hymn has obvious points of contact with an even better known piece, more widely published: Charlotte Elliott's 'Just as I am, without one plea.' (It was first published in The Invalid's Hymn Book (1834), and, with an extra verse, in Elliott's Hours of Sorrow (1836).)

An identical verse form is used, with the refrain line given some variety in Farningham's piece. Charlotte Elliott ended all her seven verses identically: 'O Lamb of God, I come.' Farningham's 'O Jesus Christ, I come' moves through 'With all my heart,' 'Therefore to Thee'

and 'Lord of my life, I come.' Her first verse uses two of the same rhyme words ('me/Thee'). This particular verse form (8.8.8.6) was most common in Elliott, whereas Farningham hardly ever uses it. She acknowledges her familiarity with the Charlotte Elliott hymn in an anecdote recounted in her autobiography. She gives an account of a communion service at which a number of her Bible class girls were to receive their first communion. She felt her own unworthiness to 'take the Lord's Supper' and 'so oppressed by a sense of sin that I felt almost as if I should die.' In this state of mind, she tells her readers that 'the old hymn, which I and my girls often sang, kneeling, with the twilight filling the room, became my very personal prayer.'²⁵ She then quotes Charlotte Elliott's first verse.

Apart from imitation, conscious and unconscious, Farningham's own account of her methods of composition place her distinctly within the 'inspirational' school:

It was the day for posting my usual verses for the Christian World, and I could find nothing to write about. I turned over the leaves of the Bible in vain....For the first time I was, after many years, afraid it would be impossible to make any rhymes for the paper that week. Post-time was only an hour off, and I was in despair. An old volume of Chamber's Journal lay on the table. I listlessly opened it and read of a legend or belief of some country to the effect that those whom we had helped on earth would be the first to meet us as we entered heaven. The thought flashed into my mind -

'Will anyone stand at the beautiful gate,
Waiting and watching for me?'

and I sat down and wrote the verses which have perhaps had more readers than anything else of mine that has been printed. ²⁶

(iv) *Farningham's Readership*

Who were the readers of Farningham's work? The autobiography affords a little insight. Farningham recalls a visit she made to 'an old fisherman' who 'had read the Christian World for many years', and who entertained his guest with a spirited dramatic recitation of the Book of Job.²⁷ The paper's jubilee prompted letters to Marianne

Farningham, herself a writer of fifty years' standing for the Christian World. Some of these are recorded in the autobiography:

You cannot guess what it has meant to me as a railway man to come home completely worn out and exhausted, to hear my wife read me some article of yours in the Sunday School Times or the Christian World describing graphically some scene or place which we know, oh so well! At such times the tired mind and body seem transported to the actual places and to be really looking upon them...

The writer wishes to tender sincere congratulations to Miss Farningham and to thank her for the comfort, good cheer and inspiration which her bright songs and cheery words have always been to him in his lonely and depressing work as a Missionary... ²⁸

A significant proportion of readers were from the working and lower middle classes (certainly the paper was priced for such a readership), and Farningham states 'it is easy to account for the fact that my writings have appealed most of all to the working classes, and it is their appreciation which has touched me the most deeply.' She goes on to record a particular working class tribute:

Not very long ago a man stopped me in the street of a town which I was visiting, he having recognized me after hearing me give a Sunday school address several years previously, and he said, 'I want to tell you that you have made drudgery easier and nobler for many of us working men.' I felt as if a crown which I had never won had been placed upon my head. ²⁹

At the end of her life, Farningham claimed she had 'for most of the fifty years' of the Christian World's existence 'written entirely for Messrs James Clarke & Co.' She goes on to record the view of friends who 'regret this, especially the older ones, who think it a pity that I have not occasionally contributed to other journals and magazines, and by this means been brought into touch with other readers of perhaps another class.'³⁰ In fact Farningham's work, with or without her knowledge, did appear in other publications, including the British Herald, the Irish Presbyterian Sabbath School Teacher and

The Treasury. Her poems were also used on Northampton Mortality Bills,³¹ and they made frequent appearances in the local Northampton press.

On the first anniversary of its inception, the Christian World printed a verse tribute by 'A Subscriber from the Beginning':

How welcome the moment that places beside me
The CHRISTIAN WORLD Newspaper fresh from the press!

This effusive tribute makes particular acknowledgement of the verse in Christian World:

And then the soft magic of poetry stealing
Through all the deep cells of my softening soul,
Raise Heavenward each fine, and each sensitive feeling,
And I gratefully praise the Great God for the whole.³²

As Farningham had provided one third of the 102 poems that had appeared in the course of the year, she may reasonably be considered as a recipient of this tribute, with her particular 'soft magic' working on the 'sensitive feeling' of readers rather than any subtler powers of literary appreciation. The anonymous 'subscriber' points yet again to the distinctive mode of communication with the feelings which distinguishes verse from prose in its Sunday reading context.

The first issue of Christian World had seemed to suggest a standard would be maintained in the editorial policy towards verse, in a note published in 'Answers to Correspondents':

WILLIAM JACKSON - Your lines are not up to our mark. We cannot insert mere 'sounds and jingling syllables'. Thoughts that can be expressed in prose should never be put into metre. ³³

This affords an insight into what is 'not up to our mark' when what is published is examined. Farningham herself is the most prolific Christian World poet. During that first year, the only writers of any

note who joined her in the poetry columns were Horatius Bonar (three poems), James Montgomery, J.G. Whittier, Sydney Dobell, Baptist W. Noel, and Martin Tupper, the latter by virtue of being quoted as a starting point for another writer's poem.

(v) Sunday School Times

Farningham's contributions to the first issue of the Sunday School Times were a Sunday school sketch and a poem. The sketch was a short prose piece entitled 'I want to see Jesus', about a child's death-bed, to which a Sunday-school teacher is summoned. The conception of death as wished for, and the gateway to a better life, is a central theme in both the verse and prose of Farningham, as it is indeed in many of the writers of Sunday reading. The poem in the first issue is typical of much that followed in her regular 'Sunday School Lyrics' spot. Reiteration is a frequent feature, by means of a refrain-like first line (or part line) of each verse. The poem is entitled 'Hope on for Ever', and these words provide such a refrain through the poem, which ends:

Hope on for ever, and, Christian, God speed thee,
Smiling upon thee wheree'er thou shalt roam;
Till, in his kindness, he safely will lead thee
Through the bright gates of thy beautiful home. ³⁴

The lilting metre has an obvious appeal to a younger reader, and the reassuring image of heaven as home is a regular feature of the verse.

The poem Farningham published in the issue of 24 February 1860 provides an interesting example of her awareness of her readers.

Whilst most of her verse is in regular stanzaic forms, this particular piece was written in an 'adult' version at about the same time. This latter version was published in Lays and Lyrics of the Blessed Life (London, 1860), her first collection. The poem is entitled 'Behold, a Door was Opened in Heaven', with a reference to Revelations, 4. 1. It is a blank verse piece, echoing details from the account of St. John:

What is within that door? Oh, for a dream
Of that eternal city! How the heart
Prays but for one short glance in which to see
Glimpses of all its glory! And the thought
That soars e'en to its portal fails at last,
For to our straining eyes that guarding door
Is not yet open. But the favour'd John
Has left his record, and on that we base
Our expectations, while we linger here
Waiting the signal to ascend to God.

Within that door there is the great white throne,
Its emerald rainbow round it. Golden streets,
And founts of crystal water; jasper walls,
And gates of pearl, and paths of precious stones;
And there are numbers which no man could count,
Of holy, happy spirits...

... Harps of gold
And palms of victory are in the hands
That grow not weary now. And crowns of gold
Are theirs to cast before the Saviour's feet,
Who gave himself for them. And through the air
Borne on their wings of light the angels pass;
And all with one accord join in the song
Of swelling Hallelujahs. ³⁵

The version for her young readers in the Sunday School Times is entitled 'Behold, a Door Opened in Heaven', replacing the passive with the active verb. The poem is reset in couplet rhyming quatrains, in iambic heptameter:

(vi) Lays and Lyrics: the voice of Sunday verse

Popularity and good sales are in evidence in relation to one of Farningham's two titles of verse collections given mention in the Times obituary: Lays and Lyrics of the Blessed Life. The first edition appeared at the end of 1860, catching the Christmas market for religious verse. The second edition, described as 'just published' in the advertising columns of the Sunday School Times,³⁸ was the 'third thousand'. The publisher's preface to the fifth edition (November, 1866) claimed:

Four large editions of this book have been sold within the space of four years... . Its success has far exceeded the most sanguine expectations... . Since its first issue, a multitude of communications have been received expressive of the delight and benefit imparted by the perusal of the poems.³⁹

What can this comparatively popular collection of religious verse tell us about mid-Victorian tastes and interests in this field? In many ways Lays and Lyrics reflects the predominant features of the pious verse of the period. Poems of spiritual reassurance predominate, starting with the first substantial work, 'Light from the Cross'. (The volume was subtitled 'Light from the Cross and Other Poems.') This fifty-four stanza reflection on the transforming power of Christianity is the most sustained poem in the volume, and whilst it belongs most obviously to the category of spiritual reassurance, it also reflects other characteristic elements of Sunday verse, and serves as a focus for the whole volume.

The all-pervasive biblical influence is seen here in the account of Christ's ministry which lies behind stanzas 17 and 18:

Light on the miracles the Saviour wrought,
Light on the healing touch of that kind hand,
On all the blessings, with such mercy fraught,

He scattered broadcast on the thirsty land!
 The wondering crowd were fain to own that he
 Must be Messiah - such his matchless power -
 Who made the lame to walk, the blind to see,
 And raised the dead from its unlighted hour.

He fed the weary, hungry multitude; -
 Light from the Cross proves him the living bread:
 Among His people poor, despised, he stood; -
 Light from the Cross proves him their glorious head;
 He healed the sick as they around him pressed;
 This light shows him the healer of our souls.
 He soothed the raging tempest-waves to rest;
 And he our passion and our sin controls. ⁴⁰

This biblical subject matter is taken up later in the volume in short pieces entitled 'Jesus Wept', based on John 11, 'The Call of Samuel' and 'The Great Physician',⁴¹ which is prefaced by Luke 4. 40: 'Now when the sun was setting, all they that had any sick with divers diseases brought them unto him; and he laid his hands upon every one of them, and healed them.' This verse is imaginatively extended, so that 'all they that had any sick' becomes in her poem 'a sorrowing, suffering, sickly train' and the 'divers diseases' are itemized as 'the blind', 'the trembling leper', 'the idiot', 'the deaf and dumb', 'the palsied limb' - all, of course, with biblical precedent (see Luke 7. 21-2). Farningham here reflects the common concern in Sunday verse to propagate biblical material in verse form.

The natural world as a reflection of God's glory and purpose is called on in glimpses in 'Light from the Cross', such as the 'bright gay flowers', 'the sweet twilight dim' and the 'sunny hours' of stanza 42. In a poem such as 'Summer-Time' there is total emphasis on this theme:

He clothes the world in beauty, makes our earthly home sublime,
 While gladness fills our swelling hearts - bless God for summer-
 time!⁴²

'Sunshine after Rain' and 'Voice of the Trees' are in a similar vein.

A note of moral guidance is struck in stanza 36:

Light from the Cross shall be the world's great weal;
 All moral benefits from thence have sprung;
 And its unfolding changes shall reveal
 How God his blessings round the Cross has flung.
 The Saviour teaches morals to mankind;
 The lofty character proceeds from Him;
 And he who copies Jesus in his mind
 Will have an excellence years cannot dim. ⁴³

This note is given a more everyday emphasis in 'Speak Kindly' with its focus on human example:

Speak kindly! Ah! thou knowest not
 How much of good or ill
 May be within the little words
 Thou speakest lightly still. ⁴⁴

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of 'Light from the Cross' for today's reader is its topical concerns. Stanza 46 develops the vision of a unified Church, in which

our grand cathedrals will not be
 Closed to God's servants of another name;
 Nor those who love each other disagree,
 Their hopes, their fears, their interests the same.
 The party spirit will not then distress
 Those who kneel down at the same throne of grace;
 But lips that coldly sneered will warmly bless,
 All longing eagerly for Jesus' face. ⁴⁵

This idealized view of unity is not in fact supported by Farningham's own attitude in other poems in the volume; her Nonconformist's anti-Catholic prejudice is most strikingly present in 'The Convert', which depicts an eighteen year old 'Romanist' at a service in which 'white-robed priests' are 'chanting words/In dialect unknown'. The girl leaves, feeling the worship 'a mockery', and persuaded that the Bible provides 'light' she eventually prays to God

for guidance. Her resulting 'profession of her faith' prompts both 'her father's ire' and 'frowning priests' to 'talk of flaming fire'.⁴⁶ Notwithstanding these threats she remains determined to seek salvation as a Protestant. Such writing would have been well received in the predominantly anti-Catholic climate of the day.

The problems of drink, and the attempts of temperance movements to reform human error in this respect, provide another contemporaneous note in 'Light from the Cross':

Light from the Cross sometimes, with holy beam,
Has fall'n upon the drunkard's sodden mind,
Awaking him from his delirious dream,
His true position in the world to find;
And the wine cup is quickly dashed aside,
For higher impulses attend him now;
He is a man again with manly pride,
And the dark blot is fading from his brow. ⁴⁷

In later stanzas, Farningham acclaims the role of Christianity as direct inspiration of art and science:

That nerves the painter's hand and guides his dreams;
The poet and the sculptor own its power:
God is the source of art, and Calvary's beams
Give it a glory never seen before.

For science flourishes amid its light,
And literature attains a higher tone. ⁴⁸

The 'higher tone' was earnestly sought by the periodicals Farningham was most closely associated with, and the many others which catered for the Sunday reader, and it can be seen that verse was looked to as a significant element in creating such a tone.

That dissenters should provide much evidence of typological emphasis is not at all remarkable, with their dependence on the Scriptures at the heart of their religion. Landow points out in his Introduction to Victorian Types, Victorian Shadows that 'any person

who could read, whether or not a believer, was likely to recognize scriptural allusions. Equally important, he was also likely to recognize allusions to typological interpretations of the scriptures.⁴⁹ It is thus surely in works such as Lays and Lyrics that we should look for the evidence of the true influence of typology on the Victorian writer and reader. Landow's important and scholarly study tends to give the impression, through his chosen range of example, that the typological mode is highly literary.⁵⁰ It is not. Farningham proves otherwise:

Light from the Cross irradiates the time
 Of types and shadows with their misty air,
 Throws over it a glory all sublime,
 That ere it shone was never witnessed there.
 The olden service, and the sacrifice
 Of bulls, and goats, and offerings for sin,
 Were but the shadows of that wondrous price
 Paid on the Cross our rebel souls to win.

The lamb, without a blemish, that was laid
 On Israel's sacred altar, and the fire
 That kindled when their offerings were made,
 And bore to heaven their penitent desire,
 Were only simple types of Him who came
 To be the 'Lamb of God' and take away
 The world's dark heritage of sin and shame, -
Our sacrifice, whose power can ne'er decay. 51

As a method, typology depends on the historical authenticity of the original event, and doubts about the historicity of parts of the Old Testament could be assumed to undermine such a mode of interpretation. It may be that such a paralleling of events actually substituted for closer historical analysis such as the Higher Biblical Criticism was providing. Even though the findings of this criticism undermined the basis of typology, the method was so much a habit of mind that this figurative manner of reading still afforded comfort, in the idea of an omnipotent God who, in the imagination of the reader if not actually, made Christ the perfect antitype: the fulfilment, as

Farningham shows above, of the sacrificial lamb image. Landow points out that the Broad Church movement was much readier than others to accept that the Bible was divinely inspired 'only in some rather free and figurative manner.'⁵² Mythic and symbolic interpretations became the preferred approach of this group.

In some respects the typological approach could be viewed as a form of initiation into the figurative mode. Farningham's readers of her blank verse poem, 'The Call of Samuel', were likely to understand it as indicating more than its surface meaning. This offers the narrative of God's call to Samuel, following the details of the biblical account (I Samuel 3) whilst embellishing these descriptively in a characteristic manner. A sample will demonstrate her technique. Italicized passages are used to represent Farningham's additions to the original biblical material:

The lamp

Had not gone out when he lay down to sleep
*In childish confidence. Awhile he thought
 Of his loved mother in that far-off home,
 How she had parted his fair clustering curls
 With her own fingers - how the tears had gushed
 Into her eyes at the last look, and how
 Her pallid lips had quivered as they pressed
 Fond kisses on his own. And then he dreamed
 He was again in his childhood's home,
 Playing amid the trees.*

Softly there came

Stealing upon his slumbers a low voice -
 'Samuel! Samuel!' And the boy arose,
*Shook off the weariness that wrapp'd him round,
 And pushing back his hair with his white hand,
 Ran unto Eli - 'Here am I.'*

..... *Samuel hid his face
 Against that bursting heart, and told him all,
 And the old stricken man bowed down his head
 In silent resignation*

''Tis the Lord!

'Let him do all that seemeth good to him.' ⁵³

The sentimental embellishments here are recurrent in the work of both Farningham and many other Sunday writers. These touches give a particularly Victorian emphasis to this version of the narrative. Most readers would have understood the underlying typological link with the New Testament: Samuel's mother, Hannah, gave birth to him after years of apparent barrenness, and the Song of Hannah (I Samuel 2) records her rejoicing in a manner reminiscent of Mary's Magnificat. Samuel, like many of the Old Testament figures, was called upon to obey in faith: 'to do his bidding'.⁵⁴ He thus becomes a model for a faithful Christian, similarly subject to the divine call, as were the first disciples.

Lays and Lyrics of the Blessed Life is an entirely representative volume in its earnest, reassuring attitudes, and in its serviceable but undistinguished versifying. The verse is a useful communicative tool, most frequently depending on a supportive regularity of form that can work well at its best. In an age where subject was paramount, the occasional ragged rhythms and inept rhymes did not so disconcert Farningham's first readers, and her continued popularity was testimony to the functional role of her consoling and optimistic writing, with its strength of spiritual conviction a valued quality in an age troubled by doubt. Emphatic reiteration appears here, as in much of the religious verse, to be a means of proving the truth. Perhaps, too, it may be read as an indication of an underlying uncertainty that seeks such constant reassurance; as noted in the previous chapter in work for children, repetition as incantation with a power to create truth is a significant element.

There's a wreath of roses that droop and die,
 There's a smile that hides the convulsive sigh,
 There's a crown of life that will ne'er decay,

There are sunlight and joys that fade not away.
 Doubters, to which shall your spirit bow?
 Which is the coronal for your brow?

The end of the long broad path is death,
 In blackness and woe giving up the breath;
 But the narrow way leadeth still above,
 To immortal bliss and unchanging love.
 Ye who are undecided, come
 To that peaceful world, that eternal home. ⁵⁵

The 'peaceful world' and 'eternal home' are repeatedly offered as the desired goals, especially attractive to those 'constantly toiling through the long hot day',⁵⁶ as the egalitarian state of heaven should impose no social distinctions. The major range of imagery in this volume is concerned with the idyllic, restful calm of the after-life, the ideal home, so frequently reiterated in this kind of verse.

Praise, that the brightest joys here given
 Are dark to the bliss of thy home in heaven.

('Walk')

O, had I also wings, I would be flying
 Swift to my own most happy home above-

('The Wish of the Weary')

'Onward and upward' our watchword be,
 Till the gates of our beautiful home we see.

('The Hope Set Before Us')

There constant pleasure dwells beneath
 The lofty, dazzling dome;
 And smiles of gladness wreath the lips
 Of happy ones at home.

('They Despised the Pleasant Land')

'Tis well there's a country that knows no decay,
 Where sweet amaranthines diffuse their perfume,
 And aye wear the beauty of spring's youthful bloom.

('Fading Away')⁵⁷

'Our home in heaven'⁵⁸ was Farningham's own 'better land'. She

presented in her writing a sincerely held belief, that offered unmediated access to the truth for her readers.

(vii) Contemporary Views of Farningham

In a special memoir article following her death, the Northampton Herald commented on Farningham's verse being 'distinguished by its sincerity and its fervent religious tone. Her hymns ... are deservedly popular.'⁵⁹ A reviewer in the Mercury in 1867, giving a brief notice of 'Poems by Marianne Farningham' described the work as

an elegant little volume of graceful verse, pervaded by a strong religious feeling. There is a calm deep earnestness in Marianne Farningham's poems; a quiet command of her materials and a knowledge of the structure of her verse which reminds us of Mrs Hemans. The resemblance, however, is not the result of imitation, but of a cultivated and equable mind.⁶⁰

In view of her early responsiveness to Felicia Hemans, it seems not inappropriate that such a parallel should be drawn; one which would, no doubt, have satisfied Marianne Farningham herself.

In the Jubilee issue of the Christian World of 11 April 1907, a section on 'Notable Contributors' included 'Marianne Farningham' in its columns. The writer suggested the breadth of appeal of Farningham's verse, claiming she knew 'how to appeal to the heart of people who read little poetry, but she has had among her warm admirers those who read and love the best poetry.'⁶¹ This is very similar to the judgement recorded in the obituary tribute, which was published two days after Farningham's death, in a Supplement to the Christian World:

As to her poetry, considering the conditions under which she wrote, it is amazing that Marianne Farningham should have maintained such a high average standard of quality. She did not write for fame, but to express her feelings, and to help her readers who underwent the same experiences. Her verses were the favourite poetry of tens of thousands of readers, and among them highly cultured men and women, who found in Marianne Farningham a singer with the precious gift of

speaking from heart to hearts. ⁶²

It can be seen that Farningham achieved what many writers of Sunday verse also achieved: an appeal across class boundaries. Her humble origins and breadth of appeal provide proof of the democratic status of such verse. Her work typically drew on the common cultural heritage of the Bible and hymns, and made the text and teachings of the Bible accessible to a wide readership. She depended on an intuitive, emotional response, that worked on the same level for her readers, offering reassurance and consolation through the very conventionality of the verse's forms and language. Christ's saving power, presented through the crucifixion and resurrection, was the central and recurring theme:

Oh, faint one, do not tarry
 In the wild, unceasing strife,
 Come to the Cross! I'll give thee
 Forgiveness, joy, and life.
 'Twill soothe the crushing sorrow
 Within thy bleeding breast;
 Wayworn, and sad, and weary,
 Come to the Cross and rest. ⁶³

NOTES TO CHAPTER 7, pp.155-181.

1. Times, 17 March 1909, p.13. See pp.162-163 below for further details of Farningham's career.
2. A Working Woman's Life (London, 1907); hereafter, Life.
3. Life, pp.12, 75, 13.
4. Ibid., p.13.
5. Ibid., pp.19-20.
6. The poem referred to is 'The Family Bible'. Each stanza ends:
 The old-fashioned Bible,
 The dear blessed Bible,
 The family Bible that lay on a stand.
7. Life, p.21.
8. Christian World, 26 June 1857, p.95.
9. Life, p.28.
10. Ibid., pp.28-29.
11. Ibid., p.29.
12. Ibid., pp.29-30.
13. Ibid., p.40.
14. Not the Gospel Magazine, as Farningham incorrectly recalls in her autobiography. This error hardened into fact as it was repeated in print in several newspaper articles, including the Times' obituary.
15. Life, p.71.
16. Ibid., p.73.
17. 'A Word to Our Readers', Christian World, 9 April 1857, p.4.
18. Life, pp.79-80.
19. 'A Word to Our Readers', Christian World, 9 April 1857, pp.4-5.
20. Life, p.201.
21. ibid., p.103.
22. Sunday School Times, 6 January 1860, p.5.
23. Christian World, 9 April 1857, p.3.

24. Northampton Daily Reporter, 21 April 1898.
(The Northampton Mercury went through a number of title changes: Northampton Mercury and Daily Reporter (1880); Northampton Daily Reporter (1885); Northampton Daily Reporter and Echo (1906); Northampton Daily Echo (1908); Daily Echo (1919).)
25. Life, pp.141-142.
26. Ibid., pp.139-140.
27. Ibid., p.176.
28. Ibid., p.268.
29. Ibid., p.269.
30. Ibid., p.277.
31. These Mortality Bills were annual lists of Births, Baptisms and Burials, in this case for the parish of All Saints. They were printed as a folio sheet, with a poem at the bottom of the page.
32. Christian World, 9 April 1858, p.4.
33. Christian World, 9 April 1857, p.4.
34. Sunday School Times, 6 January 1860, p.5.
35. Lays and Lyrics of the Blessed Life (London, 1860), pp.76-77.
(All following references to this first edition.)
36. Ibid., p.58.
37. Thirty-one titles had actually been published by this date. See Life, pp.276-277.
38. Sunday School Times, 1 March 1861, p.68.
39. The present writer's own edition - the twelfth (1877) - testifies to the work's continued popularity within the period under review.
40. Lays and Lyrics, p.6.
41. Ibid., pp.26, 71, 119.
42. Ibid., p.79.
43. Ibid., p.11.
44. Ibid., p.105.
45. Ibid., p.14.
46. Ibid., p.20.
47. Ibid., pp.8-9.

48. Ibid., p.10.
49. Landow, Victorian Types, Victorian Shadows, p.3.
50. In fairness to Landow, he does point out the need to 'investigate middle- and working-class autobiography, political writings, and literature aimed particularly at the poor and less educated.'
(Landow, p.225.)
51. 'Light from the Cross', Lays and Lyrics, pp.2-3.
52. Landow, p.20.
53. Lays and Lyrics, pp.71-73.
54. Ibid., p.73.
55. Ibid., 'An Appeal to the Undecided', p.132.
56. Ibid., 'The Heart's Response to the Saviour', p.162.
57. Ibid., pp.56, 230, 94, 258, 247.
58. Ibid., 'God's Loaf', p.230.
59. Northampton Herald, 19 March 1909, Supplement p.2.
60. Northampton Mercury, 12 January 1867, p.3.
61. Christian World, 11 April 1907, p.26.
62. Christian World, 18 March 1909, p.23.
63. 'The Language of the Cross', Lays and Lyrics, p.39.

CHAPTER 8 : DOMESTIC PIETY

'Female Piety'

'Tis sweet to see the opening rose
 Spread its fair bosom to the sky;-
 'Tis sweet to view at twilight's close,
 The heaven's bespangled canopy.

'Tis sweet, amid the vernal grove,
 To hear the thrush's fervent lay,
 Or lark, that wings his flight above,
 To hail the dawning of the day.

But sweeter far is maiden's eye,
 Uprais'd to heaven in pious prayer;
 When bath'd in tears she looks on high,
 What sacred eloquence is there!

O! sweeter far, that sacred name,
 'MY FATHER!' utter'd by her tongue:
 And sweeter, when her heavenly flame
 Ascends in pious, holy song.

O, sweet when on the bended knee,
 Her thoughts, her spirit, mount above,
 In pious, deep-felt ecstasy,
 To realms of everlasting love! -
 ANON.¹

* * *

(i) Women's Role: The Victorian View

The preceding case study of Marianne Farningham offers an insight into the way pious verse could have a marked effect on the life of a Victorian woman. For the reader today, Sunday verse offers material for further reflections on its functions within a sociological and historical perspective. Whilst Farningham no doubt went further than most women in the field of religious journalism, she is not an unusual case in gaining success through Sunday verse. A noticeable aspect of Sunday verse is the number of women writers it fosters. The fact that this is an area of literature where they make a significant contribution has much to do with Victorian expectations of and

attitudes towards women. The poem quoted at the head of this chapter reflects a view of women typical of the period. 'Pious, deep-felt ecstasy' was acceptable within the constraints of respectability, and perhaps best expressed in the regular forms of pious verse, which provided the necessary restraints whilst allowing a degree of intensity proper only to religious feeling. Women were seen as uniquely qualified to write this verse, which can be viewed as a specifically female genre (in spite of the many male writers who entered this field).

Pious verse was an extension of woman's conventional role. It can be viewed as part of the essentially submissive, domestic and sentimental image that predominated at mid-century. A work published in 1858, under the pseudonym Fidelis, made a specific connection between verse and women:

If for moral ends, human beings need to be brought more under the generous and elevating influences of poetry, women are the most hopeful and available agencies for such a purpose; both in consequence of their superior delicacy of perception, tenderness, and moral sensibility, and because of their power over the young when themselves are truly imbued with the love of the poetical. And this power may be exercised in different ways without taking them out of the proper sphere of their duties, because its efficiency depends more on example than precept. Truth, love, and purity, are both spiritual and poetical elements; and when these hallow the circle in which women move, it is clear that both sexes must come under their influence, and so a higher moral tone may gradually pervade and harmonize all the social relations. ²

Although this stereotype was certainly to be challenged from the later sixties onwards by the developing social and political women's movements, change was very slow to be reflected in the lives of the majority of women.³ Indeed, it seems that stasis was an approved and integral part of woman's role, giving her the function, as home-maker, of a stabilising influence in the male world of busy activity. John Angell James reflected a major current of contemporary thinking about

women:

Christianity has provided a place for woman for which she is fitted, and in which she shines; but take her out of that place, and her lustre pales and sheds a feeble and sickly ray... . Neither reason nor Christianity invites woman to the professor's chair, or conducts her to the bar... . The Bible gives her her throne, for she is the queen of the domestic circle... . It is the female supremacy in that interesting domain, where love, and tenderness, and refinement, thought and feeling preside.⁴

The Victorians idealized the home into a sacred place, and it was woman's duty to create the 'quiet sacredness of home' according to Eliza Linton, who believed that 'active housekeeping' was 'woman's first social duty.'⁵ Ruskin emphasized woman's rightful place at home - 'a sacred place, a vestal temple' in which she must be 'enduringly, incorruptibly good; instinctively, infallibly wise.'⁶ Patmore's Angel in the House (1854-1863) gave emphasis to the idealising of women, in their semi-divine roles as goddesses of the hearth. That pagan image is, of course, inapposite for the essentially Christian emphasis of this idealization; indeed, the Christ image is one that bears closely on the position of Victorian women, who readily identified with this ennobling version of self-sacrifice and humble, unselfish service. Dolores Rosenblum has remarked that 'in the poetry of Christina Rossetti, as well as other Victorian poets, the myth of suffering for art's sake - Promethean, egoistic, male - is overlaid by the myth of suffering for its own sake - Christian, selfless, female.'⁷ Many women were ready to perpetuate this image of themselves. An example can be seen in a popular collection of Sunday verse, originally published anonymously, The Dove on the Cross (1849), by Jane Euphemia Browne.⁸ Her poem 'Woman' actively encouraged the role of willing servitude within a Christian framework, as extracts demonstrate:

WOMAN

The last of God's created works,
 Woman be thou the best,
 Fulfil thy holy destiny,
 Thy Maker's high behest;
 Be thou the help-meet, true and kind,
 On whom man's heart may rest...

Amidst the sour corroding cares,
 And loud contentions rife,
 Amidst the tumult and the din
 Of this world's bitter strife,
 Be thou the one calm, sheltered spot,
 The quiet of man's life;

With gentlest voice, and softest hand,
 Soothing his troubled brow;...

With patient hope and brow serene,
 Glide thou with noiseless tread
 Through the still chamber's silent gloom
 And cheer the sick man's bed;
 Let thy firm faith sustain his soul,
 When hope of life has fled. ⁹

Because of the prevailing concept of woman as complementary to man in her characteristics and abilities, she was forced into the position of inferiority, with the (male) argument that her role was divinely sanctioned. (This argument can be traced back to the biblical authority of St Paul.) In a poem entitled 'Submission', Browne described what might be the relationship of any wife to her husband, though she was addressing God:

'Tis Thine to choose - my portion let it be
 To acquiesce with deep humility. ¹⁰

Woman's 'sacred' responsibilities included the religious education of her children. Dale Johnson suggests a reason for the women being considered 'the religious persons in the family':

They do not have to fight in the marketplace for a living or confront evil and corruption at every turn. They can provide solace and comfort for the husband, nurture for the children in the faith, and a refuge from the onslaught of the secular spirit which society desperately needed. Thus, women are more moral and more religious than men. ¹¹

Such views lead to a positive valuation of women writers in the field of Sunday verse, which is thus seen as a highly appropriate endeavour. The ideas here expressed by Johnson assume that the Victorian woman is married: this was indeed the assumption that the period made of its women, that they were objects of pity or contempt if they did not fulfil their purpose as wives and mothers. The best known example of this attitude is that of the industrialist, W.R. Greg, who saw the excess of unmarried women as a 'curable evil to be mended.'¹² There were, of course, many unmarried women in spite of prevailing attitudes, and for them the notion of domestic service had to be adjusted slightly, but in all essentials the ideal of unobtrusive, devoted service to family and friends remained the same, as Browne's poem 'Woman' is anxious to establish:

If thou art one whose loving heart
 No wedded love hath known,
 Destined to tread thy heavenward path
 Through the wide world alone,
 Live not in narrow selfishness,
 Nor uselessness bemoan.

Wherever woman's tenderness,
 Or love, or gentle care
 Is needed, but not found - be sure
 Thy sphere of duty's there.
 An unobtrusive presence, felt
 Like cool, refreshing air...

With self-devotion unrestrained,
 Constant, and pure, and high,
 Live thou in self-forgetfulness -
 For true felicity
 Abides alone within the heart
 That loves unselfishly...

So shall thy heart be amply filled
 With duty and with love,
 And holy hope shall daily gild
 Thy real home above,
 Where earth's relationships give place
 To those of grace and love. ¹³

It is noticeable that all three women writers to be considered individually in this chapter remained unmarried, as did Marianne Farningham. For such women the outlet of writing could be important not just as a creative activity (perhaps as a substitute for husband and family), but as a potential source of income and a degree of heightened status and independence. Although it was certainly not the case that fame was looked for by these writers, success in writing did confer some small degree of acclaim for these women, and allowed them to share in what was largely a male preserve. We are thus faced with this intriguingly contradictory aspect of Sunday verse in the hands of women: it was integral to Victorian stereotyping, yet it was also a liberating factor. It opened up a wider world to women at the same time as it implicitly projected conventional ideals.

It must be emphasized, however, that the writing of verse in itself could not provide a dependable income, in the way that writing fiction could. Isabella Fyvie Mayo quoted a letter of 4 June 1862 from Jean Ingelow warning her that 'very few editors pay for verse.'¹⁴ Frances Ridley Havergal printed a circular letter to send to the large number of aspiring writers who sought her advice. Her second point included the comment that 'payment for hymns or general verses is exceptional, and unless you already have "a name", you need not dream of it.'¹⁵ For women, the writing of verse was either a polite social accomplishment or divine inspiration, acceptable as an extension of woman's 'angelic' role, for which she was especially suited by nature.

The paradoxical relationship of service and freedom has its roots in Christianity, reinforced by biblical text (I Corinthians, 7. 22). The freedoms offered women were rather limited, but as the case of Marianne Farningham has shown, no less real. Success carried its own

test of humility and religious principle, and could be used to reinforce virtue. Frances Ridley Havergal was quick to turn her commercial success to charitable giving. Her first earnings from contributions to Good Words in 1861 went to purchase a silk cassock for her father.¹⁶ In 1863, she sent to her step-mother a letter instructing the disposal of further payments:

The cheque is so much larger than I expected, £10.17s.6d. Now will you please give £10 of this to my precious papa for anything he would like to employ it on; either keep it for church alterations, or if any more immediate or pressing object, I would rather he used it for that... I should be glad if you would send 10s to J.H.E. for the Scripture Readers' collection, and the 7s 6d to keep for any similar emergency.¹⁷

On the other hand, commercial success carried worldly temptations. Farningham's attitude to money was somewhat different from Havergal's. In her autobiography, Farningham comments on her first payments (from Christian World): 'The rate was not munificent; but it was a good beginning, and very soon was doubled.'¹⁸ None of the women writers discussed in detail here shares Farningham's career attitude towards writing, and this is a fact very clearly related to status. The need to earn a living was imperative for Farningham, whereas the comfortably situated 'ladies', such as those considered below, had no such pressure, and charitable giving was an expected activity of the wealthier woman.

Women writers of verse in general were not competing on equal terms with the men. Germaine Greer has pointed out the obvious inequality in educational provision for the sexes in the Victorian period, which leads, in her words, to 'the inaccessibility of the mainsprings of a literary tradition, nourished by classical sources.'¹⁹ However, whilst this fact may indeed contribute to the lack of women in the ranks of great poets, in the case of Sunday verse

women were not so disadvantaged. Because of the dominant influence of the Bible on such verse, the women were just as well equipped as the men with knowledge of the source material of this much more democratic literary heritage, as well as being ideally qualified, being 'more religious than men' (see above p.188). This aspect of the verse also opened up the readership, as demonstrated in earlier chapters, the range of allusion being reassuringly familiar.

F.W. Robertson's lectures on poetry to the Mechanics' Institute of Brighton suggest that 'poetry may be a fitting study for men of leisure, but it seems out of the question for Working Men.' (He presumably included working women in this category, as the lectures were delivered 'before a mixed audience.') He attributes this fact to the 'eminently artificial, unnatural and aristocratic' poetry of the previous age, asserting that poetry is 'essentially of the people, and for the people.'²⁰ He may not have had Sunday verse foremost in his mind, but its more popular appeal certainly removes the suggestion of anything remotely 'aristocratic'.

Kathleen Hickok has pointed out that popular women poets 'were not writing for the intellectual, elite male reader of William Wordsworth or Matthew Arnold' but rather for 'a less educated, middle-class female reader of giftbooks and periodical verse.'²¹ It is indeed in the periodicals that most writers of Sunday verse could expect to be published, and here, too, where writers and readers come from a much broader spread of society than that reflected in the giftbooks, as chapter 5 demonstrates.

Success with individual verse collections was attained by a number of women in this period: of these Marianne Farningham has already received attention. A.L. Waring, Charlotte Elliott, Frances Havergal and C.F. Alexander all produced at least one collection that remained

in print until the end of the century. There are some obvious points of similarity in their earnest commitment to the religion of the established church, but each has her distinctive voice. A closer look at the work of the first three of these writers demonstrates how their verse embodies in its piety the roles of women themselves.

(ii) *A.L. Waring: 'To soothe and sympathise'*

Anna Letitia Waring was born into a Quaker family in Neath, Glamorganshire, in 1820. In 1842 she was baptized into the Anglican church, attracted by the sacramental nature of its worship. Her initially slender volume, Hymns and Meditations, was first published in 1850, as the work of 'ALW'. This edition contains only twenty poems,²² but the success of the volume led to repeated and extended editions. The separately published Additional Hymns (1858) was later incorporated into the original collection, which was extended several times, finally in the posthumously published edition of Hymns and Meditations in 1911. (Waring died in 1910.) All subsequent references are to this seventeenth impression of this popular work. One of its best loved poems, 'Father, I know that all my life', was to find its way into several anthologies, periodicals, and two major hymn books, the Methodist revision of Wesley's hymns with a new supplement published in 1877, and The Church Hymnary of 1898, a Presbyterian collection.

It is a poem picked out by one of Waring's many admirers, in a letter published in the memoir by Mary S. Talbot that prefaces the 1911 edition:

Dear Miss A.L. Waring,

I want to say to you that your hymns have been a comfort to me day and night.

I have learnt several by heart, and have taught them to my children... 'Father I know that all my life' etc, is my comfort and help, and I have found every word of that hymn

true. 23

The poem in question offers some interesting support to the general points made at the beginning of this chapter, most of all in its evidence of the willingly submissive role of the woman which parallels the self-denying and dependent role of the Christian. As the first poem in the collection, it sounds the notes that are to become familiar throughout the later poems:

Father, I know that all my life
Is portioned out for me,
And the changes that are sure to come,
I do not fear to see;
But I ask Thee for a present mind
Intent on pleasing Thee.

I ask Thee for a thoughtful love,
Through constant watching wise,
To meet the glad with joyful smiles,
And to wipe the weeping eyes;
And a heart at leisure from itself,
To soothe and sympathise.

I would not have the restless will
That hurries to and fro,
Seeking for some great thing to do
Or secret thing to know;
I would be treated as a child,
And guided where I go.

Wherever in the world I am,
In whatsoe'er estate,
I have a fellowship with hearts
To keep and cultivate;
And a work of lowly love to do
For the Lord on whom I wait.

So I ask Thee for the daily strength,
To none that ask denied,
And a mind to blend with outward life
While keeping at Thy side;
Content to fill a little space,
If Thou be glorified.

And if some things I do not ask,
In my cup of blessing be,
I would have my spirit filled the more
With grateful love to Thee -
Most careful - not to serve Thee much;

But to please Thee perfectly.

There are briers besetting every path,
That call for patient care;
There is a cross in every lot,
And an earnest need for prayer;
But a lowly heart that leans on Thee
Is happy anywhere[.]

In a service which Thy will appoints,
There are no bonds for me,
For my inmost heart is taught 'the truth'
That makes Thy children 'free';
And a life of self-renouncing love
Is a life of liberty. ²⁴

It is remarkably easy to read the poem as an account of the stereotypical Victorian woman, accepting dutifully whatever comes - 'all my life/Is portioned out for me', actively desiring to have a subordinate role - 'I would be treated as a child/And guided where I go.' The woman's role is emphasized in her wish to 'soothe and sympathise' and 'a work of lowly love to do/For the Lord on whom I wait.' Humility abounds in the 'lowly heart that leans on Thee', which is 'content to fill a little place.' The opening lines of the third verse seem almost to be a rejection of the male world of activity, 'the restless will/That hurries to and fro,' and the final verse sums up perfectly the paradox of service as freedom. It is 'the truth' that liberates - the truth that it was so much the concern of such writers as Waring to propagate. Elsewhere she proclaims, 'on the word of truth/In earnest hope I live.'²⁵ The idea of necessary suffering is also touched on in 'Father, I know' - 'There is a cross in every lot', and this is echoed in the second poem in the collection, which concludes that

We need as much the cross we bear,
As air we breathe, - as light we see,
It draws us to Thy side in prayer,
It binds us to our strength in Thee. ²⁶

Sheer physical dependence is suggested in the image of the 'heart that leans on Thee', and Waring uses this image a number of times: 'to triumph by leaning on Him', 'on Thee my yielded heart shall lean', 'shame that else I had not known/Found me leaning on His breast.'²⁷ This last example links with the undercurrent of passionate relationship that retains a clear element of physicality. Christ as lover, 'my Beloved', is addressed in a number of poems. One begins with the exclamation 'Would that I were more closely bound/To my Beloved', and draws to a close with a series of requests:

Try me with Thy refining fire,
Array me in Thy white attire,
Be Wisdom, Righteousness to me,
The River of my pleasures be,
And fill my life with love of Thee. ²⁸

The desire for physical unity is expressed in another poem - 'Into Thy arms, O Lord, I flee:/I hide me in Thy faithful breast.'²⁹ In a poem about a lost sheep, Waring repeats the idea through the relationship of sheep and shepherd - 'How well the pain of rescue it could bear,/Held in the shelter of His strong embrace.'³⁰

Throughout her work Waring emphasizes the quiet, the calm and still, and 'the subject spirit of a child' is her favoured role, inviting comfort:

When I am feeble as a child,
And flesh and heart give way,
Then on Thy everlasting strength
With passive trust I stay,
And the rough wind becomes a song,
The darkness shines like day. ³¹

Waring may have joined the Anglican communion, but the quietist element in her verse is very strong, in part no doubt the inheritance of her Quaker upbringing. She was not a Marianne Farningham: public life did not appeal. Her quiet, confident verses nevertheless drew many responses from readers, such as this letter from 'A Stranger' in 1856:

MADAM,

I have a great desire to let you know what a source of comfort your 'Hymns and Meditations' have been and still continue to be to me, during long dark nights of affliction, and praise God that He has so instructed you, and feel the deepest communion of spirit with you.

In the short space of six and a half years I have buried four sons and my dear wife.

A dear brother, a minister among 'the Plymouth Brethren', first put your book into my hands, and it is my daily companion.

I am, Madam,

Yours in Christian love,

D - D - 32

The unsectarian appeal of Waring's writing is apparent, and though her work was clearly written through a female consciousness in a private tone it did not limit its appeal to female readers. Waring was even viewed in the same light as Keble by one correspondent, an elderly man who 'by use and repetition for more than thirty years' had proved the efficacy of her 'beautiful hymns', which, he claimed 'in many an hour of sorrow' as well as 'times of gladness' were what 'cheered the brain, and passed the lips, as often as those of any other - not excepting the Christian Year.' ³³

The comparison with the Christian Year is not so surprising. Their kinship exists in the meditative moods, the controlled intensity, the sympathy with the natural world, and the strength of their faith.

Mary Talbot describes, in her prefatory memoir, the 'deep inwardness' of Waring's spiritual life, and admits that her hymns are

not 'the songs of creative genius' but neither are they 'lacking in true poetic power.' She continues:

But it is those who know for themselves that the life of the inward Spirit, the life 'hid with Christ in God' is the most wonderful and mysterious, but also the most veritable of all human experiences, who will find in these hymns the voice of their own hearts...

Her natural gift was contemplative: her chief action was in thought... It was her love and desire for her fellow members in the body of Christ, which led her to offer to them the fruits of her own experience. ³⁴

There is no glimmering of uncertainty in Waring's work. It is utterly assured of the religion it presents as essential to life. As Talbot comments,

the questionings of modern doubt must have reached her outward ears. She never heard an echo of their whisper within; and her own deep faith, broad-based on experience, made her able to listen with fearless sympathy to those whose mental and intellectual standpoint differed from her own. ³⁵

Waring is an example of an essentially non-didactic writer of Sunday verse. Her writing is a simple act of sharing faith. It is also writing that offers an essentially female discourse. In this latter respect, Charlotte Elliott is a writer who can be seen to contrast with Waring.

(iii) *Charlotte Elliott: 'Just As I Am'*

Another popular Sunday poet, Charlotte Elliott was born in 1789, of comfortably placed middle-class parents, her mother coming from a respected clerical family. Elliott was brought up to the polite accomplishments of a lady: music, drawing and conversation were her favoured activities, when her health permitted. After a major illness in 1821, the following year Elliott was introduced to the evangelist, Cesar Malan, of Geneva. Under his influence for the next forty years, she dedicated herself to a life of Christian endeavour, to a large

extent carried out from her sick-bed. In addition to writing verses, she followed Harriet Kiernan as editor of the Christian Remembrancer Pocket-Book from 1834. In the same year, she also took over from Kiernan the editorship of the Invalid's Hymn Book, to which she contributed one hundred and twelve of her own hymns.

It is no doubt of some significance that Charlotte Elliott endured 'many family illnesses and bereavements' around 1823, according to her sister's memoir.³⁶ At this time, Elliott was thirty-four. In 1836, she published Hours of Sorrow, verses of comfort for the ill and bereaved. This volume was in its seventh edition by 1869. In spite of Elliott's continual ill-health, she lived until she was eighty-two. It is hardly surprising that in such a length of time she encountered deaths of family and friends on many occasions. In common with many of her contemporaries, she was 'much possessed by death'.

Ann Douglas, in her important study, The Feminization of American Culture (1977) claims that in America the mortality rate does not justify this obsession of nineteenth century women, and attributes the fact to women's arrogation of a power-base in an area where they (together with clergymen) have some control over the rituals of death. In England the case may be viewed in a different light. Mortality figures may partly account for the prominence of the subject,³⁷ and although English women do indeed contribute significantly to the literature in this subject area it is possible to see an alternative to Douglas's thesis. The deaths most women experienced within a life-time were often major events in an otherwise unremarkable existence. Because they were tied to the home, often themselves experiencing death in childbirth, death of family both young and old, and nursing dying relatives, these events were correspondingly more important to women than to men. That death becomes a focus for women

is undeniable, but it does not have to be viewed as a conscious movement to claim control. Indeed, as much emphasis should be placed on men's relinquishing of rights in this sphere. The instinctive association of birth and death leads to the further assumption that just as women predominate in the former, so the latter must be their province too. Only the doctor and the clergyman (in baptism and funeral) have roles to play in either case. It is thus possible to see women's roles here in terms of their subjugation - men shrugged off the responsibility, and required the females in a household to attend to such matters.

The ever-present fact of death in Elliott's life resulted in many poems related to this theme, but always with the Christian reassurance of the life to come:

Lie down in peace to take thy rest,
 Dear cherished form, no longer mine,
 But bearing in thy clay-cold breast
 A hidden germ of life divine,
 Which, when the eternal spring shall bloom,
 Will burst the shackles of the tomb. 38

The 'life divine' was a very real prospect for Elliott, as for so many convinced Sunday writers. As suggested in Chapter 6, children's verse in particular marked the social divisiveness of life on earth in relation to the preparation for heaven. Expectations of heaven, however, were consistent across classes:

There discord and contention cease;
 Those crystal walls all strife exclude! 39

Heaven was as much 'that bright home' for Elliott as it was for Farningham,⁴⁰ a world 'bathed in purest light serene', where 'ne'er has entered taint of sin' and 'where no harsh unhallowed word,/Slander, discord can be heard.'⁴¹ Many poems by Elliott

incorporated a death-bed scene, real or imagined: 'And does my parting hour draw nigh.'⁴² 'To the Passing Spirit' offers some typical consolations, both for the dying and for the families who remain:

O'er thy sorrowing friends thou grievest;
 God will comfort those thou leavest;
 God will be their stay!
 Brief will prove their sad privation,
 Glorious love's bright consummation;
 There, where comes not separation,
 Spirit! haste away! ⁴³

The 'soothing' powers of verse are called upon frequently to communicate the consolations of faith. 'Mourn not for those who die,' Elliott urges,

Mourn not! they live for aye!
 Death's stingless shafts in vain are cast,
 And vainly yawns the grave's deep gloom;
 The tyrant's shadowy reign is past,
 Burst the dark barriers of the tomb!
 Sin dies in death! all sorrow dies!
 To endless bliss the ransomed rise!
 Rejoice for them! ⁴⁴

Emphasis on an idealized home, as in 'My Home', suggests an appropriateness in the movement from life to death, as well as offering the reassurance implicit in the image of home, with its connotations of safety: 'All, all shall consummated be,/My home, my happy home, in thee!'⁴⁵ Elliott's writing is not entirely dismissive of the pains of loss and suffering involved in death. In 'To a Mourner' she describes how

I looked upon that loved one's brow,
 And read the traces there
 Those who have suffered learn to know
 Of grief and care. ⁴⁶

For Elliott it must be so: 'the feeling heart must oft receive a wound.'⁴⁷ Faith does not prohibit or prevent suffering, it gives it a purpose, a hope beyond the present:

E'en as the bird 'stirs up her nest,' to make her nurslings fly,
He here forbids us to find rest, toward heaven to raise our eye:
The sunshine is from earth removed, that heaven more bright may seem,
The heart denied what most it loved, till there He reign supreme.⁴⁸

Elliott lacked the total assurance of Waring, allowing occasional notes of uncertainty to creep in, as in 'Forsake Me Not':

Forsake me not, my God, my heart is sinking,
Bowed down with faithless fears and bodings vain;
Busied with dark imaginings, and drinking
Th'anticipated cup of grief and pain.⁴⁹

Elliott also presents a more abstract image of the Saviour in her verse ('spotless Saviour', 'Divine Advocate', 'my Hope'). In this way she offers a more 'masculine', less intimate approach to religion than Waring.

(iv) *F.R. Havergal: 'Ministry of Song'*

Frances Ridley Havergal's verse focused more on life in this world, a life of service and dedication to Christ. Born in 1836, Havergal was the daughter of W.H. Havergal, a Church of England clergyman who was a pioneer of reform in metrical psalmody, and a devoted student of church music. His daughter inherited her father's interest in music, and composed herself. She wrote her first verses when she was seven.⁵⁰ Though less dramatically an invalid than Charlotte Elliott, Havergal also suffered from poor health. Her energies were devoted to religious verses and devotional books, in addition to philanthropic work. Her Poetical Works appeared in two volumes in 1884, five years after her death.

Her 'Ministry of Song' (the title poem of her first volume) was concerned to express her own dedication to God and her wish to evangelize: poetry and music were central to her efforts in this respect. Like many other Sunday writers, she saw the didactic and social benefits of verse. Children, she believed, 'will ne'er forget the tale' if song has been used to fasten it 'surely/As with a golden nail.' Song could also, in her view, 'silence the folly and the jest' so that 'the idle word be banished/As an unwelcome guest.'⁵¹ But Havergal was ready to acknowledge the aesthetic appeal of verse, also. In 'One Question, Many Answers', the one question is 'What wouldst thou be?' One of the many answers is 'A living blossom of poesy.' She expands on this answer:

A soul of mingled power and light,
 Evoking images rare and bright,
 Fair and pure as an angel's dream;
 Touching all with a heavenly gleam;
 And royally claiming from poet-throne
 Earth's treasure of beauty as all mine own. 52

Havergal saw her verse, as indeed her life, as an evangelical tool. Her poem 'A Worker's Prayer' offers a pattern for a life subject to God's purpose, and expresses the recurrent wishes of many Sunday versifiers who similarly sought to do the work of the Lord:

Lord, speak to me, that I may speak
 In living echoes of Thy tone;
 As Thou hast sought, so let me seek
 Thy erring children, lost and lone.

O lead me, Lord, that I may lead
 The wandering and the wavering feet;
 O feed me, Lord, that I may feed
 Thy hungering ones with manna sweet.

O strengthen me, that while I stand
 Firm on the Rock and strong in Thee,
 I may stretch out a loving hand
 To wrestlers with the troubled sea.

O teach me, Lord, that I may teach
 The precious things Thou dost impart;
 And wing my words, that they may reach
 The hidden depths of many a heart... 53

Her better known 'Consecration Hymn', 'Take my life, and let it be/Consecrated, Lord, to Thee' expresses similar sentiments. The image of devoted servant and willing service recurs again and again in her work, reinforcing this essential role of female piety.

Janet Grierson claims in her biography of Havergal that the memoir written by her sister 'within thirty years of her [FRH's] death...had achieved a circulation of nearly a quarter of a million.' This interest would certainly argue a wide readership for her verse, some of which is quoted in the memoir, which was first published in 1880, a year after her death. Grierson quotes a circulation of 113,000 for Havergal's first collection, Ministry of Song (1869), by 1888. There is no detailed support for either of these claims, which must accordingly be viewed with caution.⁵⁴

Of all her admirers, Havergal most valued those such as Charles Tennyson Turner: 'the real appreciation of men, (not women and girls!) whose own powers or works I appreciate and admire!'⁵⁵ The writing of verse was an important part of Havergal's service of Christ, and she made an interesting point about her need for this relationship with Christ:

It is not exactly or entirely feeling disappointed about - but more, I think, the sense of general heart-loneliness and need of a one and special love,... and the belief that my life is to be a lonely one in that respect... I do so long for the love of Jesus to be poured in, as a real and satisfying compensation.⁵⁶

In this way Sunday verse becomes a filler of a vacuum - for a writer such as Havergal, it is a means to an end, a way of expressing this looked for relationship with Christ. For readers, such verse helped to occupy the empty hours on Sunday that might otherwise have been filled with more worldly activities.

Like Marianne Farningham, Havergal is a writer who awaits inspiration for her verse - 'one minute I have not an idea of writing anything, the next I have a poem; it is mine, I see it all, except laying out rhymes and metre, which is then easy work!' She goes on to claim 'I rarely write anything which has not come thus.'⁵⁷ The verse thus becomes a direct embodiment of faith.

Havergal's belief in the divine inspiration of her work, and its principally utilitarian function did not entirely eliminate her literary ambitions. In a letter of 1864 to her sister Maria, she admitted 'Yes, dear, if I had my choice, I should like to be a "Christian poetess", but I do not feel I have ability enough ever to turn this line to much account.'⁵⁸ In a letter of 1867, she acknowledged honestly that although every verse was a 'direct gift' she admitted to 'a distinct desire to have a name' and she could 'see danger ahead in this direction.'⁵⁹ This worldly tug of vanity, wanting the esteem of men, in conflict with Christian humility and service, contains the essential ingredients of the Victorian woman's situation. A woman's developed literacy was both enabling and disabling at one and the same time: a tool to serve Christ and a lure to vanity in its opening up of the woman's world.

William Alexander, in his Preface to the poems of his wife, Cecil Frances Alexander, commented on the fact that 'there is one grace which seems to be excluded from the ethics of literary people, even when they are religious - the grace of humility.' He asks, 'who ever

knew a humble literary man, still less literary woman?' To this general view he finds an exception in his wife, of whom he claims 'few writers have ever been so free' from setting great value on their own work.⁶⁰ C.F. Alexander was principally a writer for children, and in her more overtly didactic role, she adopted a somewhat different attitude from Waring, Havergal and Elliott:

We would lead your young hearts to the hopes that are sure,
We would show you the pleasures that ever endure,
We would point out the paths that are pleasant and pure,
And teach you to tread them aright. ⁶¹

Havergal, too, wrote a significant amount of verse for children, but her collected poems are predominantly quietly reflective or urgently committed statements of absolute conviction in the saving power of her faith, available to all who were 'Free to Serve':

Let Him write what He will upon our hearts
With His unerring pen. They are His own,
Hewn from the rock by His selecting grace,
Prepared for His own glory. Let Him write!
... The tearful eye at first may read the line
'Bondage to grief!' but He shall wipe away
The tears, and clear the vision, till it read
In ever-brightening letters, 'Free to serve!'
For whom the Son makes free is free indeed. ⁶²

(v) The Ambivalence of Female Piety

It can be seen from the foregoing examples that there is certainly some diversity in women's pious verse. Havergal's battle with worldly success is very different from the otherworldliness of Waring and Elliott. She shares with Waring the more feminine aspects of pious verse, but she has a more consciously evangelical tone than either of the other two writers.

In spite of differences in approach, the verse of all these women (who may be taken as broadly representative, though more successful in commercial terms) can be seen to be rooted in their female roles, as soothers and servants, 'queen of the domestic circle' as John Angell James phrased it (see above, p.187). Piety and the female are inextricably intertwined in the mid-Victorian perception of women. In pious verse women could at once fulfil conventional expectations of their role, and aspire to an independence ironically at odds with their servile position.

The ambivalence of female piety in the context of Sunday verse - perhaps best embodied in Havergal's conflicting worldly and spiritual aspirations - provides an undercurrent of tension between the public and the private, between service and freedom. Whilst these tensions may result specifically from the female role, they are nevertheless typical of similar oppositions and paradoxes apparent in the language of Sunday verse in general.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 8, pp.185-207.

1. Servants' Magazine (January 1863), 18-19. Whilst not a pious Sunday periodical, the Servants' Magazine offered pious verse intermittently, and clearly demonstrates a particular social group being offered such material.
2. Fidelis, Poetry, Women and Children (London, 1858), p.6.
3. The earliest advances were in the field of higher education; Girton was founded in 1869 and moved to Cambridge in 1872, where Newnham had been established the year before. In Oxford, Lady Margaret Hall (1878) and Somerville (1879) led the way. John Stuart Mill promoted women's suffrage in 'Of the Extension of the Suffrage' in Representative Government (London, 1861).
4. John Angell James, Female Piety (London, 1852), Sermon III, 'Woman's Mission', pp.61, 62.
5. The Girl of the Period 2 vols (London, 1883), I, 'Ideal Women', p.59 and 'What is Woman's Work', p.38. These articles were first printed in the Saturday Review, in February and May 1868.
6. John Ruskin, 'Of Queen's Gardens', Sesame and Lilies (London, 1865), sections 68, 69; in Collected Works, ed E.T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, vol. 18 (London, 1905), pp.122, 123. It should be noted that recently a challenge has been made to the predominantly 'sacred' version of Victorian home with this idealization of women, in Rod Edmond's Affairs of the Hearth (London & New York, 1988). Edmond argues that 'a glance at almost any Victorian novel, narrative poem, or domestic melodrama shows that this idealization is less than half the picture. Victorian writing is full of unhappy homes, appalling families, and the break-up of happy homes and families' (p.7).
7. Dolores Rosenblum, 'Christina Rossetti's Religious Poetry: Watching, Looking, Keeping Vigil', Victorian Poetry 20 (Spring 1982), 46-7.
8. This title was still current in Nisbet's catalogue for 1885.
9. The Dove on the Cross (London, 1849), pp.43-45.
10. *Ibid.*, p.13.
11. Women in English Religion 1750-1925 (New York & Toronto, 1983), p.4.
12. W.R. Greg, 'Why Are Women Redundant?', National Review (14 April 1862), 434-460 (p.459). Quoted in Mary Poovey, Uneven Developments: the Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England (Chicago, 1989) pp.1-2.
13. The Dove on the Cross, pp. 46-47.
14. Recollections (London, 1910), p.136.

15. Letters by the Late Frances Ridley Havergal (London, 1885), ed. M.V.G. Havergal, p.165.
16. Janet Grierson, Frances Ridley Havergal (Worcester, 1979), p.79.
17. Quoted in Charles Bullock, Near the Throne: Frances Ridley Havergal, the Sweet Singer and the Royal Writer, new edition, (London, 1902) p.130.
18. A Working Woman's Life, p.81.
19. TLS, 26 July 1974, p.785.
20. Two Lectures on the Influence of Poetry on the Working Classes (Brighton, 1852). Lecture 1, pp.3, 6.
21. Representations of Women: Nineteenth Century British Women's Poetry (Connecticut, 1984), p.7. It can, of course, be disputed that Wordsworth was writing for a male elite.
22. Not 19 poems, as W. Garrett Horder claimed in his introduction to Waring's poems in A.H. Miles (ed.), Poets and Poetry of the Nineteenth Century, revised edition, vol.11 (London, 1906).
23. A.L. Waring, Hymns and Meditations (London, 1911), Memoir, pp.31-32.
24. Ibid., pp.1-4.
25. Ibid., p.34.
26. Ibid., p.6.
27. Ibid., pp. 16, 72, 141.
28. Ibid., p.28.
29. Ibid., p.58.
30. Ibid., Appendix, p.11.
31. Ibid., p.76.
32. Ibid., Memoir pp.29-30.
33. Ibid., Memoir, pp.30-31.
34. Ibid., Memoir, pp.11-12.
35. Ibid., Memoir, pp.15-16.
36. Selections from the Poems of Charlotte Elliott, with a Memoir by her Sister, E.B. (London, [1873]) p.25. [Hereafter Poems.]
37. For a discussion of this topic, see Ann Douglas, The Feminization

of American Culture (New York, 1979). Douglas indicates that there may be evidence to show that the American mortality rate was not increasing, and not in itself likely to justify the obsession with death and its rituals. See especially p.202 and p.371 n. In Britain mortality figures were fairly consistent - and high. Woods and Woodward show the crude rate of annual mortality per 1000 in the Manchester, Chorlton and Salford district to be 28.07 during 1851-60; 28.90 during 1861-70; 27.34 during 1871-80. These figures suggest there was not a significant fall during this period, confirming the trend of the average national figures quoted in Porter:

1851-55	22.7	per thousand
1856-60	21.8	" "
1861-65	22.6	" "
1866-70	22.4	" "
1871-75	22.0	" "

(See table VI, p.8.) For further details see G.R. Porter, The Progress of the Nation in its Various Social, Economic Relations (London, 1851; new ed. 1912); and Robert Woods and John Woodward, eds., Urban Disease and Mortality in Nineteenth Century England (1984).

38. Poems, 'By the Death Bed of a Friend', p.206.
39. Ibid., 'The Better Country', p.93.
40. Ibid., p.94.
41. Leaves from the Unpublished Journals, Letters and Poems of Charlotte Elliott (London, [1874]), pp.215-6.
42. Poems, p.84.
43. Ibid., p.92.
44. Ibid., 'Weep Not', pp.116-117.
45. Ibid., p.122.
46. Ibid., p.128.
47. Ibid., p.135.
48. Ibid., 'Stanzas for a Friend in Sorrow', p.138.
49. Ibid., p.229.
50. [Maria Havergal], Memorials of Frances Ridley Havergal (London, 1881), p.7.
51. Poems, 2 vols (London, 1884), I, 4, 6.
52. Ibid., I, 43.
53. Ibid., II, 66.
54. Grierson, pp. vii, 5.

The figure for the circulation of the memoir may have been achieved more speedily than Grierson suggests. Circulation had reached 216,000 by the end of the first year in print, as the British Library has a copy with an 1880 accession date, quoting this figure on the title-page. (Havergal died in 1879.) The present writer's copy is the first cheap edition (?1882); the title-page records the printing as the 'two hundred and forty seventh thousand.' Such claims cannot, however, be indisputable, and must be treated with caution.

55. Ibid., p.107. (From a letter to Mr Snepp.)
56. Ibid. p.169.
57. Letter of February 1868, quoted in Bullock, p.46.
58. Letters, p.33.
59. Ibid. p.59.
60. Poems of C.F. Alexander, ed. William Alexander (London, 1896), p.xv.
61. Verses for Holy Seasons (London, 1846), p.69.
62. Havergal, Poems, II, 350.

IV : PIETY AND POETRY

CHAPTER 9 : LANGUAGE AND IMAGERY

*Not now, not now; oh lay it by!
 I do not care to see
 The reasons either for the New
 Or Old Theology.*

*I strive to live the life of God
 In earnest, loving deed;
 I have no time to cast a thought
 To-day, on any creed.*

*Let Christless Christians settle now
 Those questions of the brain;
 Love calls aloud for ready hands,
 And must not call in vain.*

(extract from B.L. Farquhar, 'Creeds') ¹

* * *

(i) Limitations of language in pious verse

The poetry of piety is the literature of either the convinced or the aspiring believer. Occasional glimpses of uncertainty surface, but the overwhelming effect of reading a large body of this verse is to gain the sense that 'God's in his heaven,/All's right with the world', (without Browning's intended irony) and what is not right can by God's grace be rectified. Farquhar's lines above give evidence of the ordinary person's irritation with theory: faith is equated with action, a way of life. The language of this verse is predominantly the language of assurance and reassurance, of joy and hope, of wonder and praise. It was usually written for - and often by - the ordinary believer, such as Farquhar. In its dependence on familiar images, the verse achieved a consoling familiarity, a reassuring link with the past, through biblical and liturgical allusion and quotation, to be equated with truth itself by the believer.

The reader of Victorian Sunday verse soon becomes aware that its language and imagery were used chiefly in functional rather than primarily aesthetic ways. As already indicated, Sunday verse did not provide highly literary writing. It was concerned to communicate directly with a diverse readership, and it aimed to influence the beliefs and behaviour of that readership. It was a democratic genre in being open to all readers, irrespective of class. The democratic element in the language itself may be considered not so much Wordsworth's language 'really used by men' as the language familiar to Christians, hoping to communicate with other Christians and share the values promoted. John Woolford has recently argued for a view of mid-Victorian poetry that sees 'popularity as a legitimate test of poetic merit.' Whilst Woolford is concerned to place Browning in this context, he usefully offers the 'key tenets of populist aesthetics' as egalitarianism, intelligibility and reader-dependence.² These tenets may be readily applied to what is arguably the most widely read verse of the period, Sunday verse. A link is thereby created with a perceived aim of the major literature of the period and this more self-consciously populist verse.

(ii) Egalitarian Appeal

Sunday verse was egalitarian in its appeal to readers of all classes, readers distinguished not in terms of a highly literary education, but by a knowledge of the Bible. Working alongside the Christian teaching of the Bible, the verse offered a parallel and elucidatory account, projecting an image of an egalitarian heaven, for which virtue and penitence were the only qualifications.

It is the connections with the Bible and its related (often typological) imagery that are most apparent. As R.L. Brett has pointed out, the Bible was not held to be

literally true in every detail. Indeed, from the days of the early Church Fathers the Scriptures had been interpreted not only as historical narrative, but as moral and spiritual allegory.³

This literary basis of interpretation gave access for many of limited education to a method of reading that could readily be transferred to the wider field of religious poetry. There was, however, a two way process at work here: the pious verse produced for Sunday reading itself offered a means of access to the more figurative elements of the Bible.

Sunday verse contains a significant proportion of prefigurative imagery, with obvious roots in biblical typology. As remarked in note 50 to Chapter 7 (see p.184), Landow was aware that his own study of typology lacked the breadth of reference to ordinary writers properly to assess the popular impact of this literary device. Marianne Farningham's work has offered evidence that no sophisticated literary training was necessary to the employing of such a device; indeed, there is a sense in the widespread use of the method that it was virtually an instinctive mode of religious reference by the Victorian period.

C.F. Alexander demonstrated the common use of typological references in work for young readers. The poem 'The Ark a Type' pronounces its method in its title. This poem stands first in the collection, and invites the reader:

... Come, where the dim prophetic dawn
 Hangs o'er the old-world works of God;
 And read them in the perfect light

Of Christian noon-tide, clear and bright.

For thee the shadow and the type,
Wear all their rich reality... 4

Alexander also illustrated in this collection the tendency to extend or adapt the points of reference in a typological image. In orthodox typology, there is a specific point of historical contact between Old Testament and New. A more generalising reference is achieved in 'Ruth':

True wife, true daughter, thou hast taught
To Christian hearts a holier strain -
Fair type of each unselfish thought,
The love that fears not want or pain. 5

The point of reference here is not to the New Testament, but beyond, to the reader, for whom Ruth becomes a model to emulate. Writing for children made frequent use of such generalized types.

One of the commonest types in Victorian Sunday verse, to which Landow gives a whole chapter in his study, is the 'Pisgah Sight'. As will be demonstrated, this type has close connections with the imagery relating to the Sabbath. Before his death, Moses was commanded by God to climb Mount Pisgah; there he gained sight of the Promised Land: 'This is the land which I swear unto Abraham, saying, I will give it unto thy seed: I have caused thee to see it with thine eyes, but thou shalt not go over thither.' (Deuteronomy, 34. 4.) This visionary glimpse, as Landow points out, can be both punishment (Moses will now die and not reach the Promised land) and reward (his followers will inhabit that land). This Old Testament episode was read by Christians as a promise of the 'life everlasting' - the dying Christian may thus glimpse his own promised land, the type of heaven. As usual, most of Landow's examples are drawn from the literary

establishment: Ruskin, Kingsley, Arnold, Milton, Newman, Tennyson, Swinburne. A more humble example can be found in the work of Ebenezer Palmer, whose Tendrils of Verse (1856) was largely a collection of pieces from periodicals. In 'The Wish of the Lawgiver', Palmer sketched the account of Moses:

He stands on the commanding height,
Of Pisgah's lofty brow,
And sees with unrestrained delight
The Canaan spread below.

With glance prophetic he surveys
The region all around,
And from the scroll of future days
Learns which is holy ground...

...Fain would he in the garden rove;
By Kedron's sable tide;
Gethsemane; the Olive grove;
And where the Saviour died!

In the concluding verses, the writer moves into the first person, praying that he may share the experience of Moses, and be granted a similar 'mystic vision':

Saviour! like Moses, I would pray,
Bestow the eye of faith,
Let me thy suffering scenes survey,
Thy triumphs and thy death!

And while with mental glance I see
The mystic vision move,
Lord! sweetly whisper 'twas for me,
And fill my soul with love! ⁶

Helen Maria Allingham's 'Prayer for Divine Preservation' offers another example, from an uneducated writer, of the use of the Pisgah type:

From Pisgah's top, may I behold that place
Thou hast in waiting for thy chosen race;
That beauteous land whose architect is God,
Prepar'd for all he purchased with his blood. ⁷

Ladow points to the recurrence of this particular typological image in remarking that 'when nineteenth century religious poets attempt to catch glimpses of the promised land during the course of life and not at its end' there is a tendency to make the 'earthly Sabbath a type of an eternal heavenly one.'⁸ This process of extending a traditional type to incorporate a new perspective may be seen to apply to the process of Sunday verse itself. Through adaptations of familiar images, it brings closer to the reader the reality of eternal life. This is most apparent in the Sunday/heaven parallel.

The following piece was printed in Dr. Fletcher's Juvenile Magazine, written by someone known simply as Amelia:

SABBATH WELCOME

Bright the Sabbath dawn appears,
 O'er our hearts so calmly stealing,
 Scattering all their cloudy cares,
 And a glimpse of heaven revealing.
 None but those who daily know
 O'er a thorny path to sigh,
 Can tell how such bosoms glow
 When the Sabbath's rest is nigh...

...As the cov'nant sealing bow,
 Token to the patriarch given,
 Seems, in evening skies, to glow
 Like a bridge from earth to heaven;
 So, the Christian Sabbath day,
 Token of blood-purchased rest,
 Seems to chide our ling'ring stay
 From the home where all are blest...

Oh, may he, who, on this day,
 Points the road to bliss undying,
 Find, when he is called away
 From a world of sin and sighing, -
 For his earthly Sabbaths, given
 To this work of earnest love, -
 With his rescued ones in heaven,
 Endless sabbath-joy above. ⁹

This is a characteristic piece in a number of respects. It mingles several images common to these modified Pishahs: fine weather ('bright'); calm ('calmly stealing'; 'rest'); escape from hardship ('cloudy cares'; 'thorny path'); joy ('glow'; 'blest'; 'bliss'; 'sabbath-joy'); and heaven as 'home'. The routine of the sabbath, with its rest and church-going, is also common. A biblical mode of thought is acknowledged in the reference to the rainbow. It was, of course, predominantly the working classes who found Sunday such a positive haven of rest and refreshment, and it is perhaps to this portion of the population that much versifying of a similar kind was addressed, to compensate for hardships with promises. W. Chapman, 'a poor old labouring man', echoes such sentiments in 'Sweet Sabbath of Rest':

...Sweet sabbath of rest, to those people so dear,
 Who, tired with the toil of the week,
 In the house of their God their Saviour appear
 His presence and blessing to seek...

...Sweet sabbath of rest, blessed day of the Lord,
 How tranquil, how calm and serene!
 What blessings of Christ on his people are poured!
 What grace in his temple is seen!... 10

The idealisation of the earthly Sabbath as a reflection of heaven was frequently achieved through images of calm, and fine weather, with predominantly rural settings. However, the urban world was not ignored. A more vivid sense of the work-day world that is escaped on the Sabbath is offered by J.C.'s 'A Sabbath Song':

... Rest from week-day toil and struggle.
 Hush'd the weary strife of traffic;...

Hush'd the blasts of yonder furnace,
 Din and clangour of the forges,
 Where the earth in travail yieldeth
 Molten floods of ductile iron;
 Where the fire-horse is engender'd,
 And the steam-winged ocean-dragon;

Where, with sweat of brow, the craftsman
 Rains loud blows on ringing anvil,
 And the huge Titanic hammer,
 Swung by superhuman forces,
 Falls with Thorlike crash of thunder.
 Silent, now, the busy workshop;
 Man reposeth for a season;...

Sabbath-day must strike the keynote
 Of the week; and daily labour
 Like thy work, be done divinely,
 To thy honour and thy glory.
 Thus may we, thy hand sustaining,
 Leap from Sabbath on to Sabbath,
 And from earth bound up to heaven... 11

Obviously there could not be a truly egalitarian note in mid-century verse that took no account of the urban world, and contemporary reference. J.R. Watson points out in his lecture on the Victorian hymn that 'the imagery of a hymn is limited by its need to refer to orthodox beliefs, and by its need to avoid ambiguity.'¹² As seen in Chapter 4, this does not necessarily prohibit new kinds of image being added to the traditional biblical imagery. The hymn 'For Miners' (see p.94) offers a developed image of the miner's lamp that steps outside traditional Christian imagery, yet is simultaneously interwoven with it through the symbol of a guiding light. Pious verse outside the hymn book also makes use of this work-related image. R.W. Evans in Daily Hymns (1860), a collection of devotional verse rather than a congregational hymn book, included a piece called 'The Mine of Truth':

When the delving shaft seems endless,
 When longsuffering hope seems friendless,
 Hand is weary, heart is sinking,
 Sudden to the lamp's far flashes
 Veins respond in bickering plashes,
 Rich beyond all power of thinking.

Thus the man Thy truth that loveth,
 Toil, O LORD, and labour proveth,
 Shaping slow his due accesses.

And Thy word, with sharp edge shining,
Is to him his tool of mining,
Delving deep in heart's recesses.... 13

Charlotte Tucker's 'Mining' from Hymns and Poems (1868) focuses on the symbolic associations of light and dark:

We labour in the gloomy mine.
But bright the torches' yellow rays
That light us on our darksome way,
And sweet the voice of Hope that says,
'We soon shall see the light of day.' 14

The mine as a place of symbolic darkness is used by John Hewett in 'The Colliers':

Yes, we work 'in the pit,' - 'tis an ill-sounding name,
But this name need not hurt us, nor frighten;
We can win 'a good name', by a life free from blame,
Which the pit's utmost darkness may brighten...

...Yes, we work 'in the pit', - where the black deed of ill,
In the darkness which suits it, is wrought;
But we'll ne'er to such ill yield consent of our will,
Or the limbs the REDEEMER hath bought....

Yes, we work 'in the pit,' - but CHRIST JESUS we'll pray
Us to keep from the pit that's infernal;
And still daily we'll pray, at the dread Judgment Day
That He'll raise us to glory eternal... 15

A further image borrowed from the world of work and progress is that of the telegraph, explored in the anonymous poem 'The Telegraph':

There is a 'Line,' the work of man,
Which circles much of earth's wide span;
Th'electric spark, like lightning's glow,
Speaks messages of weal or woe.

It traverses the ocean far,
Brings tidings fresh, of peace or war;
It tells of dear ones lately dead,
Or wounded warrior's lonely bed.

But there's a 'Line' more boundless still,
No messenger of human ill;
Three are combined to form this cord,

The Holy Spirit - Prayer - the Word...

...The Spirit breathes upon this 'Line,'
 'Tis freighted from th'Electric Mine;
 And Father,- Son,- both bid it move;
 The needle's point marks - 'God is love!' 16

Such a range of images contrasts markedly with the largely pastoral range of traditional Christian imagery. Northrop Frye points out that 'the natural images of the Bible are a primarily poetic feature of it.' Frye sees nature operating in this context on two levels - 'the lower one... presupposes a nature to be dominated and exploited by man; the higher one... is the nature to which man essentially belongs.' This 'higher' nature Frye associates with Eden, and its other realm is heaven itself, as becomes apparent in Sunday verse. Frye also acknowledges that 'on the way from the lower level to the higher one we meet the images of the world of work, the pastoral, agricultural, and urban imagery that suggest a nature transformed into a humanly intelligible shape.' He sees the Bible's 'structure of imagery' as following this pattern, in its 'imagery of sheep and pasture, the imagery of harvest and vintage, the imagery of cities and temples, all contained in and infused by the oasis imagery of trees and water.'¹⁷ Miners' lamps and the electric telegraph can be seen as a Victorian contribution to this 'structure', offering contemporary images of the urban world, if a little self-conscious in their modernity.

The frequent use of biblical material in Sunday verse inevitably led to much repetition of familiar language, with conspicuous egalitarian appeal. However, it is instructive to see what variations could be achieved when the same biblical source material was used. Chapter 3 mentioned two versions of the Song of Solomon, in which the writer reworked his first version, using a different verse form, here

in different versions of Chapter 7, verses 2 and 3:

1853

Thy navel is a chalice round,
Which the spic'd wine lacks not;
Thy belly is a shock of wheat,
With lilies fenc'd about!

Thy pair of breasts like two young roes,
Twins of an equal size...

1858

...Thy belly like a chalice round,
Lacking not wine; a wheat-sheaf bound
Thy waist with lily-band.

Thy two breasts do twin fawns outvie... 18

The 1853 version is somewhat closer to the Authorized Version.*

Although there are differences - the juggling with 'navel', 'belly' and 'waist' being most apparent - both versions would immediately be familiar to a reader of the Bible. The writer obviously felt a purpose was to be served in versifying the material, even to the extent of a second attempt. The fact that Rivingtons published both these works would suggest that there must have been readers who were prepared to buy the copies (at 1s 6d). The metrically regular stanzaic form may well have appeared more appealing on the page, and a support to memory. In this particular instance, there may even be an element of erotic appeal of the material in whatever form, although this was not the pious response to the Song, which by typological process was conventionally held to be about Christ and the church.

One major difference between the two versions does not reveal itself in the extracts as quoted. The poet has, in both editions,

* 'Thy navel is like a round goblet, which wanteth not liquor: thy belly is like an heap of wheat set about with lilies. Thy two breasts are like two young roes that are twins.'

endeavoured to offer a degree of interpretation of this enigmatic text, by allocating lines to particular speakers. The characters involved are named beside the first of the lines which they utter. This extract is put into the mouth of the 'Bridegroom' in the 1853 version, but in 1858 these words are spoken by the 'Daughters of Jerusalem'. It is an interesting shift in relation to the sexual undercurrents of the Song.

The Authorized Version's 'heap of wheat' offers in a straightforward simile an image of both ripeness and fullness, implicit fecundity. This idea is partly maintained in the 1853 'shock of wheat', which retains the same figure of speech but alters the initial element: with the word 'shock' comes an image altogether more masculine, and here the lilies become barrier rather than decoration - 'fenc'd' rather than 'set about'. The female voice of the 1858 version offers the reader a 'wheat-sheaf' - not in itself essentially different in meaning from 'shock' (though much softer in sound). What is interesting in this version is what has happened to the structure of the statement, which seems, by the removal of the simile, to be making a statement about the wheat-sheaf, that appears to be subject rather than object as it 'bound/Thy waist with lily-band.' Such an interpretation is reinforced by 'waist', around which a band is perfectly appropriate. Lack of directive punctuation furthers the ambiguity. The effect of this is to give an impression of a comment on clothing rather than an appreciation of the naked form. The stanza form also seems to make a contribution to the male/female voices (though this point cannot hold consistently throughout each version): the brisker pace of the quatrain better reflects the sensuous urgency of the male speaker. The 1858 stanza is altogether more leisurely.

Much Sunday verse was filled with images that seem, to use Janet Soskice's phrase, 'an almost inescapable background to Christian thought': the smitten rock, the fountain of life, the pierced side, the saving blood. Soskice points out that the most frequently used Christian metaphors become 'more than simple metaphor - they are almost emblematic.' These reiterated images acquired through tradition a complex of associations from their biblical contexts and later uses. Again to quote Soskice, 'the sacred literature thus both records the experiences of the past and provides the descriptive language by which any new experience may be interpreted.'¹⁹ Thus the language is far from lifeless, or archaic; it is perpetually re-energized by present experience.

This is not to deny that the language of Sunday verse can be inept and result in utterly inert verse. This aspect is demonstrated in W. Chapman's 'Sweetness':

Sweet is the food we eat,
 Sweet are the clothes we wear,
 And often is the Gospel sweet,
 In God's own house of prayer.

Sweet is the holy day,
 Sweet is the Church of God,
 Where Christians meet to praise and pray,
 And spread his love abroad.

The repetition here results in the near ridiculous as he continues four verses later:

Sweet is communion free,
 When friends each other greet;
 And sweet the coffee and the tea,
 Where saints in union meet. 20

In spite of these moments of bathos in Sunday verse, the commonly used phrase may well be the most appropriate to the poet's need, and frequency of use in a religious context is somewhat different from the

tired phrases of unimaginative laziness in everyday usage. For example, in such expressions as 'the olden days' or 'as white as snow', neither phrase carries with it more than the words' simple meanings, and the impact is reduced by the predictability of the phrasing. Although Elizabeth Strafford's lines for 'The Sixth Sunday after the Epiphany' fall back on cliché, the religious connotations of the lily and its symbolism reinforce the effect of the poem, which is prefaced by the Prayer Book collect for purity:

Lilies fair! in spotless whiteness,
Shining with unsullied glow,
Lending almost Heaven's own brightness
To your little home below

Would that we, too oft unholy,
More like you might daily grow -
Would that we were pure and lowly,
White and stainless like the snow.

The link with Christ's purity and the hope of the resurrection is made in the final verse:

Let Thy robe, Lord, us adorning,
Make us meet our place to take
In the resurrection morning
By Thy side for Jesus' sake. Amen. 21

In religious language, there is the cumulative effect of years of traditional usage. Thus, for example, 'crown of thorns' comes to represent the whole episode of the crucifixion, the idea of suffering, kingship, mockery. Such images were read by the devout Victorian reader with a complete history behind them. Dora Greenwell showed how the crown of thorns became synonymous with Christ, in 'The Sinner and His Saviour', published in the Sunday Magazine:

A sinner I, but who art Thou
 With many crowns upon Thy brow?
 I see the thorn among them, now
 I know Thee for my Saviour. 22

Matthew Bridges developed the suffering image associated with the thorn in 'The Sufferer!':

As the sweet Bird, who plants a thorn
 The centre of her nest, -
 And pours her melody forlorn
 Forth from a bleeding breast:

So the lone soul shall sit and sing
 The sweeter for her pain;
 One in the sufferings of her King
 The source of all her gain! 23

There was a strongly egalitarian appeal in verse which depended predominantly on familiar biblical material, typological and traditional Christian imagery and reassuringly familiar and repetitive formulations in the language. This familiar Christian imagery was supplemented by reference to images drawn from the contemporary urban world. The idealisation of the Sabbath as a type of heaven offered a particular appeal to the working classes, for whom a day of rest was indeed a high point of the week. Equality might not be a real prospect in earthly life, but it was seen as a positive gain in the life hereafter, where all might share, in Amelia's words, 'the home where all are blest.'

(iii) Intelligibility

Egalitarian aspects of the verse are obviously closely related to the element of intelligibility. The familiarity of the range of reference offered immediate access for the less literate reader, for whom repetition of images (like repetition of words) was very important. Intelligibility in Sunday verse was also related to

essentially plain language. In his editorial preface to the New Oxford Book of Christian Verse (1981), Donald Davie acknowledges that Christian poets have often followed the tradition of putting a 'high value on what is called "the plain style", in which elaboration is avoided.' He concludes:

The only language proper for such exalted purposes is a language stripped of fripperies and seductive indulgences, the most direct and unswerving English. To speak thus plainly has the additional advantage that it ought to be meaningful to plain men and women ... but the main reason for choosing it is that when speaking to God, in poetry as in prayer, any sort of prevarication or ambiguity is unseemly, indeed unthinkable. ²⁴

That such writing was 'meaningful to plain men and women' is indeed an important point in the Victorian period, as its readership spread into the lower ranks of society.

There was a perceived, and inevitable, inadequacy of language in relation to object when divine subjects were addressed. One school of thought, reflected in the recent writings of David Jasper, holds that:

God's very uniqueness and infinity demand the language of metaphor and riddling allusion by which poetry may lead to an intensification, a transfiguration even, of our imperfect apprehension of what is perfect. ²⁵

Jasper is here responding to a poem by George Herbert, rather than a Sunday versifier, though, as has been demonstrated, the work of both appeared in the same contexts in the Victorian period, such as Sunday at Home. The literary skills of Herbert were not available to Sunday versifiers. For them, the conventional image became an accepted shorthand, not for the easily expressed, but for the essentially inexpressible. Therefore we do not look to Sunday verse for striking originality of language or form, full of 'metaphor and riddling allusion.' However, this does not mean that the language of Sunday

verse was formed merely of enthusiastic platitudes and derivative formulations. The integration of urban imagery has already been identified as an extension of a traditional range of language and image, although it is rarely used as complex metaphor, more as though it were an emblem. To some extent, there is an inevitable element of the derivative and platitudinous. It is necessary here to make a distinction between the unconscious borrowings of the unoriginal writer (such as W.M. Punshon's lines 'We lose not all our yesterdays,-/The man hath something of the child')²⁶ and the formulaic repetitions of language and imagery common to religion.

Roundell Palmer, in selecting and arranging the Golden Treasury Book of Praise (1862), expressed some editorial doubts about the sameness of a thematic collection of religious verse. He feared a 'sense of repetition and monotony' might be a charge levelled at such a collection, but he rejected this idea because repetition was 'appropriate to such compositions.' He also felt that it was 'refreshing to turn aside from the divisions of the Christian world, and to rest for a little time in the sense of that inward unity, which, after all, subsists among all good Christians.'²⁷

It is important to recognize the precise role of the repetitious element in the language. It is of the nature of ritual to depend on formulaic responses. Victorian Christianity has been seen by many commentators as under threat from the all pervasive doubt of the period.²⁸ It is hardly surprising to find that there is remarkably little direct evidence of doubt in the verse covered by this survey, except as that which is banished through faith. It is sometimes forgotten in the over-simplified faith-doubt dichotomy that other conflicting elements were at work within the church: the Tractarian debates, the revival of the Catholic church and anti-papal feeling,

the position of the Nonconformists. The very regularity of the verse forms common to Sunday reading offered a reassuringly stable element in a world challenged by conflicting opinion. The popular quatrain form epitomized the resolved security of confirmed belief.

One critic has claimed that language depending heavily on ritual associations is merely 'religious nostalgia' and thus judged as superficial.²⁹ This is a negative approach to the nature of ritual and the language of religion. By its nature, such language gathers to itself the force of generations of users, and it reflects the corporate elements of worship, with all the implicit sense of belonging to a tradition of worship. This is as true for the private devotions of the individual as for the congregational worshipper: sharing the language of Christianity is in part a sharing of the values it expresses. If ritual associations were merely nostalgic, there would be no forward-looking impetus. The language of the Victorian Sunday poets is full of such looking forward, as is the language of the Bible and the liturgy; the traditional structures of imagery, especially typology, and the formulaic elements of presentation, contribute significantly to the spiritual dimensions of such language, however inexpertly used from the literary stylist's point of view.

The sense of belonging attained through the simple forms and language of piety is indicated in a remark on hymns by Adam Rushton:

Writing down and pondering over these plain Sunday School hymns, I was enabled feebly and faintly to touch the fringe, at least, of those sublime truths which have filled the minds of the greatest poets and thinkers of all time. ³⁰

He suggests the close association of religion and literature, in his view that he touches on the world of the poets through hymns. There is overwhelming evidence in the periodical verse of ordinary people participating, like Amelia in the example quoted above (see p.217), in writing that may be entirely unsophisticated, yet relates them to a tradition that is, in part, literary. At this level, Sunday verse is a significant democratic tool, contributing to the development of literacy in the poorer ranks of society. In offering a genuine sense of participation for the humblest individual, pious verse bestowed a measure of identity, often ironically masked by anonymous or pseudonymous publication; yet another paradox of this genre.

A noticeable aspect of the language of Sunday verse is the awareness that either the writer or the language is not adequate to express what is felt. This is a feature that is apparent in writers of all social ranks, but it may well account for the proliferation of less educated writers in this field. Helen Maria Allingham offered a typically diffident preface to her first volume of devout verse:

When first I began to write poetry, it was for my own edification and amusement; I had not the most distant thought of ever bringing them [*sic*] before the eyes of the public: nor did I in the least deem them worthy the notice of the children of God. And I felt the more diffident in this, as I never had it within my reach to obtain a common education...

...[the poems] are not clothed with eloquent language of man's defining, for I have had but one teacher, and that is my heavenly father; and but one guide, which has been his holy Word. ³¹

Self-deprecation is one of many formulas of inadequacy, as they may be termed, which abound in the work of Sunday poets. Allingham frequently uses the image of a worm in her poems to reflect her own unworthiness:

Grant a worm thy special guiding.

how shall I adore
A love like thine,
That rais'd a worm, so helpless and so poor,
With thee to reign? ³²

Dora Greenwell, in the poem quoted on p.226, offers a further example later in the poem of self-deprecation:

I am not skilled to understand
What God hath willed, what God hath planned;
I only know at His right hand
Stands One who is my Saviour.

Obviously such formulas contributed significantly to the poet's ability to communicate simple faith intelligibly. For some writers, the deficiency was felt less as a personal shortcoming, more as a deficiency of language itself. Mrs Henry Ellis asserted, in 'What Think Ye of Christ?':

No language taught could e'er impart
Or make to others known,
The thoughts of Christ which fill the heart,
Where he creates his throne. ³³

In 'The Christian Experience', she similarly claimed 'no words can paint thy matchless grace.'³⁴ Allingham pleaded 'I've no language, Lord, supply me', and asked 'How shall my tongue attempt to tell/The love of our Emmanuel?'³⁵

A further aspect of this element in Sunday verse is the use of negative assertion, as illustrated by Bonar in 'The Land of Light':

No calm below is like that calm above,
No region here is like that realm of love;
Earth's softest spring ne'er shed so soft a light,
Earth's brightest summer never shone so bright. ³⁶

Farningham approaches 'A Glimpse of Heaven' in the same way:

No aching hearts, no tear, no frown, no sigh!
 No faltering voice to mar the strains they sing!
 No weary feet or heart, no throbbing head!
 No mourning over precious treasures fled! 37

For both the educated and uneducated writer, formulas of inadequacy thus provided a means of handling the incomprehensible and the inexpressible; 'what language can I find to sing/A song of praise to thee, my King?'³⁸ This becomes an accepted mode of communication when 'my tongue can find no utterance, I know not what to say.'³⁹

It can be seen that there is rarely a problem of intelligibility in Sunday verse, depending as it so often does on plain language, familiar formulations, repetition and an awareness of the inadequacy of language to communicate divine truths.

(iv) Reader-dependence

Wordsworth, in his Preface to Collected Poems (1815), proclaimed that 'without the exercise of a co-operating power in the mind of the Reader, there can be no adequate sympathy.' Reading verse is a creatively interactive process for Wordsworth, a view echoed in Browning's 'co-operating fancy.'⁴⁰ A sense of partnership between reader and writer was an important aspect of Sunday verse.

The writer of Sunday verse obviously depended upon the reader's familiarity with the scriptural material, upon which much of this verse was based, in order to complete its meaning. There was also a stronger element of reader-dependence in the didactic and consolatory aspects of the writing. These areas help to give specific identity to Sunday verse as a genre. The writer of Sunday verse may be said to depend upon the reader completing the meaning of the poem by accepting its beliefs and attitudes. Meaning moves outwards from words to

actions. Moral reading helps to create the moral reader.⁴¹

The didactic element in Sunday verse necessarily requires intelligibility: that which does not communicate directly cannot teach efficiently. Inaccessibility would be self-defeating. Most of this writing presupposed the active moral and spiritual co-operation of its readers, rather than intellectual assent, as the lines by Farquhar at the head of this chapter suggest. The following anonymous lines on 'Martha and Mary', published in the Penny Post, demonstrate effectively the expectation of reader-dependence:

Blame not a sister, if her way
Of seeking God's not thine;
Chide not, if she at home will stay,
Nor in thy good work join.

O'er heath and hill, from door to door,
Go thou, and seek and find
His praise, who yet may praise her more,
Whom thou dost leave behind. ⁴²

A firm note of moral guidance is offered, and there is an obvious expectation that the reader will be able to fill out the allusion in the title to Luke 10, 38-42. The imperative verbs so characteristic of Sunday verse clearly require a response; it is achieved most often through the reader's emotional engagement with the material.

(v) *Paradox and Opposition*

In addition to its populist status, Sunday verse has been characterized in this study by its many paradoxical features, which are inevitably reflected in the language and imagery. The concept of a contradiction resolved is fundamental to a religion that allows God to become man, to die and live again. It is therefore not surprising to find Sunday verse full of oppositions and apparent contradictions, to be resolved in the Christian paradox 'in whose service is perfect

freedom.' Earlier chapters have referred to the opposed elements of rich and poor, earthly definitions of a materialist nature which become meaningless in a spiritual context, in an egalitarian heaven. Aspects of the male and female, human sexuality, physicality, recur in the imagery, to be subsumed in the spiritual. The opposed states of humility and aspiration co-exist in the good Christian. Urban impinges on rural imagery and is adapted to it in the Christian context. Intense emotional states are contained by the discipline of conventional verse forms; heightened emotions seek the calming influence of religion. The private inner voice speaks alongside a public social voice. Doubt and faith are intertwined. Simple language strives to contain transcendent truths. All these tensions provide rich undercurrents to the poetry of piety, and help to make Victorian Sunday verse subtler than is at first apparent in its readily accessible populist aspects.

Herbert Spencer was formulating a commonly held belief of the Victorians when he claimed that the faculty of self-control was 'the most important attribute of man as a moral being.'⁴³ There are many examples in pious verse of the sense of almost uncontrolled ecstasy just held in check by the restraining form. A further paradox of such verse is the apparent emotional release achieved through the language, that may be at odds with the claim made by many of the poets that religion is a calming, soothing influence. As Cowper put it, 'fierce passions discompose the mind' but the Lord offers 'calm content and peace' ('Contentment'). A reviewer of W. Morley Punshon's Sabbath Chimes (1867), saw such verse as 'suggestive of thoughts which tend to soothe and purify the feelings, and therefore, especially appropriate to those hours of retirement and quiet known on the holy days of rest in a Christian home.'⁴⁴

Jane Borthwick emphasized the idea of ultimate rest from strife in 'Rest':

... Rest, weary heart!
 From all thy silent griefs, and secret pain,
 Thy profitless regrets, and longings vain;
 Wisdom and love have ordered all the past,
 All shall be blessedness and light at last;
 Cast off the cares that have so long opprest, -
 Rest, sweetly rest!

Rest, weary head!
 Lie down to slumber in the peaceful tomb,
 Light from above has broken through its gloom,
 Here, in the place where once thy Saviour lay,
 Where He shall wake thee on a future day,
 Like a tired child upon its mother's breast,
 Rest, sweetly rest! 45

Horatius Bonar stressed a similar aspect of faith in 'The Inner Calm':

Calm me, my God, and keep me calm,
 While these hot breezes blow;
 Be like the night-dew's cooling balm
 Upon earth's fevered brow.

Calm me, my God, and keep me calm,
 Soft resting on thy breast;
 Soothe me with holy hymn and psalm,
 And bid my spirit rest...

Calm as the ray of sun or star
 Which storms assail in vain,
 Moving unruffled thro' earth's war
 The eternal calm to gain! 46

'Soothe me with holy hymn and psalm' was a common plea of Sunday writers and readers. Consolation and comfort were constantly sought, and, indeed, created through the reassuring cadences of the verse.

It can be seen from Bonar's lines that the soothing process incorporated a specific physical image: 'soft resting on thy breast.' This tender image of intimate contact is recurrent in Sunday verse; it can be, as here, predominantly an image of relaxation, or it can be

more explicitly maternal in emphasis, as in Borthwick's lines above. It can also be directly sensual, with suggestions of an intimate adult relationship, rather than child and parent. The verbs in such formulations are most frequently 'resting' and/or 'leaning'; the breast or arms also often figure in these intimate contact images.

Christina Rossetti's 'After Communion' appears in R.H. Baynes's Illustrated Book of Sacred Poems (1867). She refers to the Lord as 'mine only Spouse above', and concludes:

Now Thou dost bid me come and sup with Thee,
Now Thou dost make me lean upon Thy breast -
How will it be with me in time of love? ⁴⁷

In the same anthology, Ada Cambridge prays that 'Thou, into Thine arms of love, to-day/ My trembling soul will take', and Caroline Sellon reassures herself with similar images:

Sink not, oh, weary soul; but turn
Thee to that loving Breast,
Where all their comfort mourners learn,
Where is thine only rest. ⁴⁸

Sarah Doudney in Psalms of Life (1871) integrated this range of imagery with that of the crucifixion:

Give me sweet hours of rest,
Leaning upon Thy breast
Like the belov'd disciple; let me be
A favoured child of grace,
Held in my Lord's embrace
Close to the Heart so deeply pierced for me.
('A Pilgrim's Prayer')

Arms of Jesus, stretched for me
On the Cross in agony,
Fold me in a sure embrace,
Hold me by the might of grace,
Make me steadfast in the fight,
Keep me from all false delight;
Clasp me close, until I stand
Safe within the better land.

('Hymn') ⁴⁹

Helen Maria Allingham's work was full of such images, as in 'God Spared Not His Own Son':

I long to lean upon thy breast,
There only I'm secure. 50

These close-contact physical images offer an undercurrent of sexuality in verse that strives to attain spiritual union. It can be seen that these images come most readily to women writers. (For Frances Havergal, the love of Christ was 'a real and satisfying compensation' for her solitary life.)⁵¹ It is not the case that such images are exclusively the province of women, but certainly they are less common in men's writing, and tend to involve an element of distancing, as in Benjamin Gough's impersonal use of such imagery in Lyra Sabbatica (1865):

So, from the wilderness, the Church returns,
Leaning on her Beloved, clothed in light,
His spotless Bride... 52

Another feature particularly prominent in women's writing is a sense of unworthiness, which heightens a sense of the enabling power of God, as Allingham illustrates:

Oh love beyond degree,
The Saviour deigns to die,
That crawling worms, like me,
Might dwell with him on high. 53

Closely linked to these attitudes are the opposed states of humility and aspiration. Christ came to earth in humble guise, thus the Christian seeks humility and service in imitation of Christ:

I dwell in a lowly cottage,
 A humble lot is mine;
 But I often think, dear Saviour,
 How poor a home was Thine!
 Oh, may I day by day,
 In meekness follow Thee;
 Content, though Thou dost lead the way,
 Through toil and through poverty. ⁵⁴

These lines conclude 'The Little Cottager's Hymn' by Annie, which appeared in the Church of England Sunday Scholar's Magazine for 1850. Those who are of humble birth and lowly status in society were often painted as the favoured of the Lord in Sunday verse, as L. proclaims:

A happier man is he by far,
 Than many whom we call great;
 For a peaceful mind and conscience are
 Much better than wealth or state;
 Then, as on the weaver's home you gaze,
 Both imitate and admire;
 Let sweet contentment and earnest praise,
 Every youthful heart inspire. ⁵⁵

In addition to displaying a suitable sense of humility, the faithful Christian must also aspire to heaven: what is rightly desired must be striven for. Thus images of aspiration predominate in the verse, often objectified in imagery of birds and flight.

Benjamin Gough pleads for 'the wings of yonder dove' in order to 'soar to worlds above' and H.G. in 'Hymn' similarly urges his soul to arise 'like a dove' and 'with meekness seek the realms above,/ Beyond the heavens soar.' ⁵⁶

As such striving was the common Christian pattern of behaviour, it was a unifying factor in the sense that all levels of society were equal in this respect. This democratic tendency was everywhere apparent, though with a characteristically paradoxical ring in poems which simultaneously reinforced rigid social stratification, such as C.F. Alexander's hymn on the tenth commandment, already quoted in part

in Chapter 6 (see pp.149-150):

Day by day the little daisy
Looks up with its yellow eye
Never murmurs, never wishes
It were hanging up on high...

...And the air is just as pleasant,
And as bright the sunny sky,
To the daisy by the footpath,
As to flowers that bloom on high.

And GOD loveth all His children,
Rich and poor, and high and low,
And they all shall meet in Heaven
Who have served Him here below. 57

The predominant sense in Sunday verse of assured faith does not exclude doubt. Faith may have to be achieved or re-affirmed or supported. It may be demonstrated for the benefit of the unbeliever. The image of the storm abated is often used in relation to reassurance. The episode of Christ walking on the waters is used in this way in the verses on 'Faith' from a serialized poem, 'The Christian Life in Verse', published anonymously in the Sunday Magazine during 1868:

Often like that little crew,
The frail bark of faith is out,
Beating stormy waters through,
On a midnight sea of doubt.

Faith would deem the Saviour nigh,
Walking on the waves again;
But there comes the bitter cry,
'Tis a phantom of the brain.'

Then there grows, beyond control,
The intolerable pain
Of the yearning of the soul
That hath known its Lord in vain.

Doubt no more may be endured,
And, like Peter, to the waves
It must trust to be assured
That it hath the Christ it craves

Casts itself upon the sea!
 Sinks appalled by wind and wave!
 Knows in sinking it is he!
 Sinking, calls on him to save:

Caught and clasped within the hold
 Of the all-sustaining hand,
 Finds the wind and wave controlled,
 And the morning on the land. ⁵⁸

Whilst the 'frail bark of faith' on its 'midnight sea of doubt' may seem an apposite image for the Victorian crisis of faith, here, as in most Sunday verse, it is subsumed in the reassuring resolution, 'the wind and wave controlled' and the doubter rescued by the 'all sustaining hand'. The doubt is acknowledged only to be dismissed; it serves as a measure of the strength of the Christian faith that implicit belief achieves such miracles.

In such pieces - significantly the poem is entitled 'Faith' rather than 'Doubt' - doubt is encompassed by faith. It is as though doubt is given legitimacy by the power of Christianity to conquer such a baseless emotion. In Sunday verse, doubt thus becomes an aspect of faith, but one that reinforces rather than destroys. Such is frequently the pattern imposed by Sunday verse - tensions are resolved, discordances are harmonized, the awkward oppositions and contradictions come together in the reassuring consolations that faith is seen to offer.

(v) The Propagation of Transcendent Truth

To some extent the poetry of piety may be seen as itself a type of incarnation. Just as the mysteries of Godhead are revealed through the manhood of Christ, so the mysteries of the Christian religion are embodied in ordinary language, which the ordinary man and woman can both comprehend and wield. The Word is made flesh by virtue of its familiarity. In the very mode of expression lies the acknowledgement

that man's powers are limited and naturally fall short of the transcendent subject matter. A Dr Johnson might hesitate to put language into service for such a task; many writers did not feel so constrained, indeed they found the limitations of their language an adequate representation of man's own sinful, inadequate, mortal state. Thomas Davis specifically rejected Johnson's view in his prefatory poem to Devotional Verse for a Month (1855):

Say they, Poesy, of thee,
 That thou mayest fitly laud
 Lake and meadow, brook and tree,
 All the lovely things we see
 Nature's hand hath spread abroad;
 But must silent bow the knee,
 Or - NOT bow to nature's God? *

They, I wren, but little know
 Who, or whence, or what thou art:
 If thy golden tresses show
 Some wild flowers, and there glow
 Joys they feel not in thine heart,
 They but deem thee meet to go
 Where devotion hath no part.

Heed them not!...

*See Johnson's Life of Waller [author's note].

Davis's response is typical of the large numbers of Sunday poets who similarly found ordinary language, enhanced by poetic forms, an adequate means of communicating the divine. As Milman's poem on 'The Incarnation of Christ' states,

The earth and ocean were not hush'd to hear
 Bright harmony from every starry sphere;
 Nor at Thy presence broke the voice of song
 From all the cherub choirs
 And seraph's burning lyres
 Pour'd through the host of Heaven the charmed clouds along.
 One angel troop the strain began,
 Of all the race of man
 By simple shepherds heard alone,
 That soft Hosannah tone.⁵⁹

Many Victorian readers of pious verse were such 'simple shepherds'. 'That soft Hosannah tone' characterized much of the Sunday verse of the mid-Victorian period, and ensured the breadth of its appeal.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 9, pp.212-242.

1. From Poems (London, [1863]), p.20. B.L. Farquhar was best known for her essay on the Sabbath, Pearl of Days (1848), which sold many thousands of copies. She was, as she describes herself there, 'A Labourer's Daughter'.
2. John Woolford, Browning the Revisionary (London, 1988), pp. 43-44.
3. R.L. Brett (ed.), Poems of Faith and Doubt (London, 1965), p.9.
4. C.F. Alexander, Poems on Subjects in the Old Testament, Part II (London, 1857), p.2.
5. Ibid., p.50.
6. Ebenezer Palmer, Tendrils of Verse (London, 1856), pp.85-86.
7. Helen Maria Allingham, A Closet Companion for the Daughters of Zion, Part I (London, 1850), p.106.
8. Victorian Types, Victorian Shadows (1980), p.214.
9. Dr Fletcher's Juvenile Magazine (March 1850), 48.
10. W. Chapman, Teetotal Hymns (London, 1859), p.5.
11. John Beard (ed.), Sabbath Leisure (London, 1857), pp.23-24.
12. J.R. Watson, The Victorian Hymn: An Inaugural Lecture in the University of Durham (Durham, 1981), p.4.
13. R.W. Evans, Daily Hymns (London, 1860), pp.83-84.
14. A.L.O.E., Hymns and Poems (London, 1868), p.65.
15. John Hewett, Verses by a Country Curate (London, 1859), pp.153-154.
16. Musings on Sacred Subjects (London, [?1857]), pp.8-9, 10.
17. Northrop Frye, The Great Code (San Diego, New York & London, 1982), p.139.
18. Song of Solomon (London, 1853), p.23; A Metrical Translation (London, 1858), p.36.
19. Metaphor and Religious Language (London, 1985) pp.157, 158, 160.
20. Chapman, p.9.
21. Elizabeth Strafford, Hymns for the Collects Throughout the Year (London, 1857), p.18.
22. Sunday Magazine (1 August 1865), 821.

23. Matthew Bridges, The Passion of Jesus (London, 1852), p.51.
24. New Oxford Book of Christian Verse (Oxford, 1981), pp.xviii-xix, xxix.
25. David Jasper, The Study of Literature and Religion: an Introduction (London, 1989), p.19.
26. W. Morley Punshon, Sabbath Chimes (London, 1867), p.5.
27. Roundell Palmer (ed.), Book of Praise (London, 1862), pp.viii, ix.
28. See, for example, Elizabeth Jay, Faith and Doubt in Victorian Britain (London, 1986); Anthony Kenny, God and Two Poets: Arthur Hugh Clough and Gerard Manley Hopkins (London, 1988); A.L. Symondson, ed., The Victorian Crisis of Faith (London, 1970).
29. See Joseph S. Salemi, 'The Religious Poetry of Ernest Dowson', Victorian Newsletter (Fall 1987), 44-47 (p.44).
30. Adam Rushton, My Life as a Farmer's Boy (Manchester, 1909), p.25.
31. Allingham, Preface.
32. A Closet Companion for the Daughters of Zion, Part II (London, 1851), pp. 33, 21.
33. Mrs Henry Ellis, Sacred Thoughts (London, 1851), p.24.
34. Ibid., p.40.
35. Closet Companion, Part II, p.157; Part I, p.8.
36. Horatius Bonar, Hymns of Faith and Hope (London, 1857), p.23.
37. Farningham, Lays and Lyrics, p.100.
38. Allingham, Closet Companion, Part II, p.7.
39. Lays and Lyrics, p.117.
40. Preface to Paracelsus, in Poems, edited by J. Pettigrew and T.J. Collins, 2 vols (Harmondsworth, 1981), I, 1030.
41. 'Their concern that literature should be useful led evangelicals to misread some non-evangelical works, the enjoyment of which they legitimised by discovering a moral.' (Rosman, Evangelicals and Culture (1984), p.168.)
42. Penny Post (January 1852), 28.
The Penny Post was 'established [in 1851] to make, under God, the Church triumph in the Working Man's home.' It was a firmly orthodox, anti-Catholic publication.
43. Herbert Spencer, Social Statics, or the Conditions Essential to Human Happiness Specified (London, 1851), p.185.

44. Methodist Quarterly (June 1867) 188.
45. Jane Borthwick, Thoughts for Thoughtful Hours (London, 1859), p.33.
46. Bonar, pp.168, 169.
47. R.H.Baynes (ed.), Illustrated Book of Sacred Poems (London, 1867), p.8.
48. Ibid., Cambridge, 'Communion Hymn', p.45; Sellon, 'I am With Thee', p.59.
49. Sarah Doudney, Psalms of Life (London, 1871), 'A Pilgrim's Prayer', p.44; 'Hymn', p.110.
50. Closet Companion, Part I, p.73.
51. See Chapter 8, p.204.
52. Benjamin Gough, 'For the Forty Days of Lent', Lyra Sabbatica (London, 1865), p.20.
53. Closet Companion, Part I, p.109.
54. Church of England Sunday Scholar's Magazine (1850), 274.
55. Ibid., p.40.
56. Gough, 'O For the Wings of Yonder Dove', p.137; H.G., 'Hymn', Poems Sacred and Miscellaneous (London, 1852), p.60.
57. Hymns for Little Children (London, 1848), no.30.
58. Sunday Magazine (1 April 1868), Part II, 'The Spirit' (cont.), 433.
59. H.H. Milman's poem, of which this is the last verse, appears in C.F. Alexander's Sunday Book of Poetry (London, 1864), p.34.

CONCLUSION

*I write for souls that love my God,
 My aim's the honour of his name,
 A Saviour's cross, a Saviour's blood,
 A risen Saviour is my theme.
 His Spirit draws my spirit near,
 And shows some glory rich and bright;
 O hallow'd moments, I repair -
 And ask his guidance while I write.*

(Helen Maria Allingham, 'The Author's
 Apology', Closet Companion Part 2
 (1851), p.11.)

* * *

It is typical of the twentieth century's disregard of pious verse that Kathleen Hickok, in her study of women's nineteenth century verse, should state that 'devotional poems' have been excluded from her survey, even though she lists this category as one of 'certain important genres.'¹ This present study, however, has attempted to demonstrate that Victorian pious verse is worth serious attention as a resource for studying aspects of Victorian culture. Most particularly, it has sought to demonstrate an unusual breadth of readership, from working class to upper middle class, from very young children to the old. No other area of poetry appears to have so wide a market in this period.

In attempting to provide a broad survey of this neglected material, this study has inevitably been able to touch only briefly on a number of issues which would benefit from further research. The egalitarian appeal of the verse - its most striking feature - needs to be further explored in relation to library holdings and circulation of such material.² There is also much fruitful material here for the feminist critic: Sunday verse is a significant area of female writing, one closely related to Victorian perceptions of women in their

conventional roles. Within the broad perspective of pious verse, women's writing (as Chapter 8 shows) is more varied than at first seems the case. The paradoxical interplay of perceived status (housebound and subservient) and individual aspiration (creative and independent) offers simultaneously reinforcement of the image of conventional womanhood and a means to an enhanced (male) independent status.

No sharply defined categories separate Sunday verse from other religious poetry, but it is true that most of the verse covered by this study is essentially public in its preferred modes of address, and consciously reader-oriented. Although much private devotional writing was published within the context of Sunday verse, it usually worked from a sense of the value of religious belief, which implicitly was on offer to others through the publication of the verse, and the propagation thereby of its Christian values. A.L. Waring has provided a good example of the quiet personal voice of a believer happy simply to share her thoughts with other readers. She offered through her poems a sharing of the reassurance she herself found in her religion. She would have affirmed with Allingham, in the lines at the head of this chapter, 'I write for souls that love my God.'

Sunday poets - unlike, say, Herbert or Hopkins - tended to have a more clearly conceived role in relation to their readers. They strove to affect those readers, to engage their positive response. Often this was achieved by simple didacticism, especially in the writing for children. Allingham's lines above also represent the sense of direction in Sunday verse: 'my aim's the honour of his name.' The impulse to write was directly related to a religious intention.

On the basis of the writing studied here, it is evident that Sunday verse was widely available, and was both read and written by a wide spread of society (whilst remaining a predominantly middle-class product for middle-class readers). Its comparatively populist appeal makes the verse of particular significance in relation to developing literacy. The extension down the social scale of the ability to read and write prompted more individuals to engage in the reading and writing of verse, and contributed particularly to the notable expansion of the periodicals market, where such verse found a ready outlet.³

Anna Potts reflected on the breadth of appeal of verse in her preface to Simple Poems for National and Sunday Schools (London, 1852):

Poetry is not the exclusive gift of the rich and highly educated, though it may be better appreciated by the latter; and there is probably some particular class suited to every condition of life, and calculated to move every heart that is not devoid of human sympathies ... The humblest efforts may be useful, if made in the right spirit, and under the guiding influence of Christian principles.

The newly-literate and semi-literate members of society were brought into contact with mainstream literature through Sunday verse because it could appear in the same context. The reader of Ellen Roberts could also read George Herbert, in the pages of Sunday at Home. There seems to be an important link here, which again needs further exploration, between kinds of writing that might be thought to have different readerships. A further avenue for study is the influence of Sunday verse on the development of other populist, 'sub'-literary writing. The work of Patience Strong in this century comes to mind, with its easy versifying and earnest intentions, together with its propagation through periodicals.

Sunday verse is also significant in relation to its ability to harmonize the classes, through its basic ingredients of a common cultural tradition, sharing common ideals, although, with a characterically paradoxical effect, it is also a genre that serves to reinforce divisive social typing, of both classes and sexes, and manages to be both democratic and authoritarian, especially in writing for children. Most strikingly, the verse reflects perceptions of a hierarchical social status, which mid-Victorian religion ironically often reinforced. Charlotte Tucker wrote under the pen-name A.L.O.E. - 'A Lady of England'; in itself this pen-name reflects the divisive nature of a society in which another writer can be designated 'a poor woman'.⁴ Tucker's 'Social Hymn' ends with a characteristic plea:

Oh! let not Satan overthrow
 The order God designed;
 The seeds of bitter envy sow,
 And pride, among mankind.
 Let rich love the poor,
 The humble bless the great,
 The servant guard the master's store,
 The monarch serve the state, -
 Each - in his separate sphere - to God
 His talents consecrate.⁵

There is rewarding material in this field for the sociologist with an interest in the Victorian class system and its contradictions. Sunday verse acknowledged the tensions of a divisive system, which were subsumed in religious harmony. The later part of the century saw many movements of social reform gathering impetus, so that such sophistries gradually lost their basis, as it was increasingly recognized that the promise of Heaven was no excuse for ignoring earthly human needs.⁶ It may not be a coincidence that pious verse declines in volume as a social conscience asserts itself.⁷

Associated with the development of literacy is the wish for respectability, and Sunday verse has been shown to provide a socially acceptable occupation within the constraints of Victorian gentility, for both those who seek to uphold such decorum and those who strive to attain the social approval of their betters. The Victorians certainly seemed to share Wesley's belief in poetry as the 'handmaid of piety'.⁸ At the same time, the verse acted as an agent of energy and variety, thereby counteracting the perceived dullness of Sunday routines.

Sunday verse offered stimulus to both the imagination and the conscience, training its readers from a young age, allowing for intuitive rather than purely intellectual understanding. The moral reader is very much a product of such training, and the habits of Sunday verse reading may well have influenced the Victorians' moral reading of fiction.

The truth-telling aspects of Sunday verse give a point of contact with other poetry in the mid-Victorian period; perhaps this accounts for the appearance of writers as diverse as Tennyson and Tupper on the same page.⁹ The juxtaposition of the famous and the anonymous or pseudonymous certainly helped to extend the readership of such writers as Tennyson.

It was as a mediator of truth, perceived through an imaginative faculty, that Sunday verse found its major role for the Victorians. Such a role is implicit in Jane E. Browne's poem, 'What is Truth?', from her popular collection The Dove on the Cross, much reprinted:

He who inquireth with an earnest mind,
'Lord, what is truth?' shall very surely find
That which he seeketh. Man asks not in vain
The way to heaven - God will make it plain.

But not to man, on earth, the power is given
To see the Archetype of Truth in heaven.

That which is shown thee now, may often be,
 In most part, relatively truth to thee -
 Fragments, revealed to meet thy present needs.
 Thou canst not grasp, and still less canst thou bind
 In dogmas definite and narrow creeds
 Truth, which commensurates th'Eternal mind.
 On every side, the part which meets thy sight
 Touches the unknown and the infinite. ¹⁰

Such 'fragments' are found in the work of Sunday versifiers like Browne. They offer 'relatively truth', that only 'touches the unknown' - but the importance of such writing is that a point of contact is indeed made, such as to enable the 'earnest mind' to 'find/That which he seeketh'. Sunday verse reflects for us the process of the Victorian reader's quest.

It has been shown in this study that there is little trace of scepticism apparent in the bulk of Sunday verse - poetry of piety almost by definition is affirmative of faith. However, there is perhaps an underlying effect of scepticism apparent in the very proliferation of such verse, suggestive of a crusade against scepticism, just as the Sunday periodicals were crusading against obnoxious journalism. The over hearty tones of much of the writing, in its earnest commitment, can suggest a degree of defensiveness, working on the principle that attack is the best form of defence. Through its energy of conviction, reinforced by predominantly regular forms, the verse simultaneously affirms faith and enlivens the Sabbath, countering passivity and doubt in its earnest supplicating tones.

The poetry of piety also reflects the breadth of Victorian religious life in all its embodiments, both formal and informal, Anglican, Dissenting and Catholic, private and public. Although a deceptive simplicity and apparent narrowness of concern in Sunday verse have led to a dismissive attitude (such as Hickok's) towards this writing, few genres can offer so varied a range of roles to

readers. It is in the complex of these inter-related and often paradoxical roles - social, religious, moral, even political - that the interest of such writing lies.

The fact that most of the verse surveyed here has not outlasted its period should not be surprising, in view of changed attitudes towards both religion and literature. However, the fact that it has been disregarded as part of its own period is indeed surprising, in view of the rich resources it has to offer students of Victorian literature and society.

NOTES TO CONCLUSION, pp.246-252.

1. Kathleen Hickok, Representations of Women: Nineteenth Century British Women's Poetry (Connecticut, 1984), p.5.
2. For example, Mudie's acquired Bonar's Hymns of Faith and Hope (second series) in 1860, together with Metrical Lay Sermons and Tupper's Three Hundred Sonnets. In their 1885 Catalogue, the Bonar volume remained in stock, together with Davis's Songs for the Suffering, Keble's Christian Year, Lynch's Rivulet and further titles by Tupper. Unfortunately there is no record of the numbers of copies of each title.
3. 'Now I began to fancy myself a poet, because when I sent my effusions in this line to Sunday School magazines they were generally accepted and printed.' (Dyke Wilkinson, A Wasted Life (London, 1902), p.20.
4. Sunday at Home (26 September 1863) 621.
5. Hymns and Poems (1868), p.76.
6. General Booth's Salvation Army (1878) was a major influence in this area, maintaining the church's connection with social concerns. Barnardo opened his first home in 1870.
7. See Appendix C, p.410.
8. Preface to A Collection of Hymns for the Use of People Called Methodists (London, 1780).
9. Penny Post (January 1852) 28.
10. J.E. Browne, The Dove on the Cross (London, 1849), p.54.

V: APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

CHECKLIST OF VICTORIAN RELIGIOUS PERIODICALS PUBLISHING VERSE, 1850-75

The following checklist of main titles includes all religious periodicals located which were current for some period of the years covered by this study, 1850-1875, and which published verse. The term religious has been interpreted fairly broadly, to incorporate titles which are likely to have been excluded from Sunday reading in stricter households, but which published pious verse and were essentially moral in tone.

Occasionally only earlier or later volumes than ones within the specified period have been available; if these come within ten years of the period of study the details have been included. It should be stressed that this is necessarily a provisional list, because publications in this field are manifold and often localized. No listing is included for titles that remain unlocated, even if they are documented elsewhere.

It must be emphasized that information drawn from one year may well be untypical for another part of the run. Major changes of main title that occurred during 1850-1875 are indicated; periodicals are listed by the title first current in this period. If this is not the same as the initial title on publication, this fact is recorded in square brackets. Place of publication is indicated in round brackets after the title if other than London. Dates covered by the publication follow the main title information. Additional information is provided wherever possible, to include details of publisher, frequency, price, usual number of pages per issue, editor and religious affiliation. The annotation indicates the frequency of verse in the periodical as

follows:

regular = all issues
frequent = most issues
occasional = several issues
infrequent = few issues.

The annotation also lists the appearance of work by poets who figure in this study. The location of all runs (or part of them) is the British Library unless otherwise stated.

The material is presented in alphabetical order of title, rather than the date order of Appendix B. The titles there have a single publication date, whereas periodicals obviously span several years in most cases. On balance, therefore, it seemed more useful to give access by main title rather than date.

ADVOCATE, THE - Sep 1861-May 1862

Farrah & Dunbar, monthly, 0.5d, 8 pp., Unitarian.

Occasional - 1 or 2 poems.

APPEAL, THE (Leeds) - 1848-1918

Simpkin, monthly, 0.5d, 12 pp., unsectarian.

Regular - 1 or 2 pages.

Includes verse by Cowper.

ARK, THE - Sep 1863-Oct 1863

Jackson, Walford & Hodder, with SSU, monthly, 1d, 32 pp., evangelical.

Poem in each of two months.

ARMOURY, THE - 1873-1884

S.W. Partridge, monthly, 1d, 16 pp., militantly Protestant.

Occasional - 1 poem.

BAND OF HOPE REVIEW & SUNDAY SCHOLAR'S FRIEND - 1851-1902

Partridge & Oakey, monthly, 0.5d, 4 pp., temperance.

Occasional - 1 poem.

BANNER, THE - Apr 1870-Feb 1874

J. Hodges, monthly, 1d, 16 pp., Church of England.

Regular - 1 or 2 poems.

Verse by Horatius Bonar.

BAPTIST MAGAZINE - 1809-1904

T. Smith, then Houlston & Stoneman, monthly, 1s red. to 6d in 1854, 58 pp., ed. William Groser, Baptist.

Occasional - 1 poem.

Verse by James Montgomery.

BAPTIST MESSENGER - Apr 1854-1892

Benjamin L. Green, monthly, 0.5d, 28 pp., ed. H.M. Whittemore, Baptist.

Frequent - 2 or 3 poems.

Verse by Marianne Farningham (also under own name, Hearn).

BAPTIST RECORD Jan-Apr 1871

Aylott & Jones, quarterly, 3d, 56 pp., ed. B. Evans, Baptist.

Regular - 1 poem.

Verse by Horatius Bonar.

BAPTIST REPORTER [also BRITISH BAPTIST REPORTER] - 1826-Aug 1864

Simpkin Marshall & Co, monthly, 2d or 3d, 44-64 pp., ed. J.F. Winks, Baptist.

Regular - poetry page.

Verse by Josiah Conder, Elizabeth Barrett Browning (includes a hitherto uncollected piece, 'The World's Fair at the Crystal Palace' - 1851).

BAPTIST SUNDAY SCHOOL MAGAZINE & FAMILY INSTRUCTOR - Jan 1865-Jul 1865

Elliot Stock, monthly, 1d, 20 pp., ed. William Stokes, Baptist.

Occasional - 1 or 2 poems.

BIBLE CLASS MAGAZINE [also BIBLE CLASS & YOUTH'S MAGAZINE] - 1848-1874
 SSU, monthly, 1d, 28 pp., ed. C.H. Bateman, evangelical.
Regular - poetry page.
Verse by Lynch, Montgomery, Trench, Tupper.

BIBLE-READER'S JOURNAL - 1859-1860
 Morgan & Chase, then Wertheim, Macintosh, monthly, 4d, 48 pp.
Occasional - 1 poem.
Verse by Tennyson.

BIBLE TREASURY - June 1856-1920
 Daniel Oakey, monthly, 3d, 20-16 pp., ed. Prof. Wallace, evangelical.
Occasional - 1 poem.
Verse by James Montgomery.
Location : Cambridge University Library.

BIBLICAL MESSENGER & QUARTERLY RECORD - Jul 1854-Oct 1854
 Houlston & Stoneman, quarterly, 6d, 64 pp., ed. John Edgar Bloomfield, nonconformist.
Occasional - 1 poem in second (and last) issue.

BRITISH BANNER - 1848-1858
 Daniel Pratt, weekly, 4d, 16 pp., ed. John Campbell, Congregational.
Infrequent.

BRITISH BULWARK - Jan 1866
 S.W. Partridge, quarterly, 3d, 36 pp., ed. Rev.C. Rogers, evangelical.
3 poems in this single issue.

BRITISH CHURCHMAN [also BRITISH STATESMAN & CHURCHMAN] - 1867-1871
 W.T. Keith, then Church Press Co.Ltd., monthly, 32-56 pp., 3d then 6d, Anglo-Catholic.
Regular - up to 6 pp.

BRITISH EVANGELIST - 1869-1936
 J. Nisbet, monthly, 1d, 16 pp., ed. W. Reid, P. Mackay, evangelical.
Regular - up to 1.5 pp.
Verse by Horatius Bonar.

BRITISH EVANGELIST & JOURNAL OF THE PROGRESS OF REVIVAL IN THE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES - Jul 1858-Oct 1861
 Partridge & Co, then H.J. Tresidder, monthly, 3d, 32 pp., ed. Rev. J.H. Wilson, evangelical.
Occasional - 1 poem.

BRITISH FLAG - 1856-1917
 Wertheim & Macintosh, for Soldiers' Friend and Army Scripture Readers' Society, monthly, 1d, 8 pp., evangelical.
Frequent - 1 - 4 poems.
Verse by Herbert.

BRITISH FRIEND -

William & Robert Smeal, Society of Friends, monthly, 6d, 24 pp., Quaker.

Regular - in earlier years, often over 1 page.

Location - Cambridge University Library.

BRITISH HERALD - 1861-1876

J. Nisbet, monthly, 2d, 12 pp., ed. Rev. William Reid, unsectarian.

Regular - 1 poem.

Verse by Bonar, Marianne Farningham, Spitta.

BRITISH MESSENGER (Stirling) - Mar 1853-1929

Peter Drummond, monthly, 1.5d, 16 pp., evangelical.

Regular - up to 2 pp.

Verse by Bonar, James D. Burns, Herbert, Quarles.

BRITISH MILLENIAL HARBINGER [also BRITISH HARBINGER, also ECCLESIASTICAL OBSERVER] - 1838-1889

Simpkin, Marshall, monthly, 4d then 6d, 52 pp., ed. James Wallis, then David King, nonconformist.

Occasional - 1 or 2 poems.

BULWARK, THE - Jul 1851-1856 (?1885)

Seeley, monthly, 1d, 28 pp., ed. W. Cunningham and Committee, Protestant.

Infrequent.

Location - Cambridge University Library.

CATHOLIC CHILD'S MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS & ENTERTAINING INSTRUCTION -

Mar 1857-?1863

W. Shean, monthly, 1d, 16 pp., ed. Iskander, Anglo-Catholic.

First issue only at BL - 1 poem.

CATHOLIC PROGRESS - 1872-1881

Burns & Oates, monthly, 3d, 48 pp., Roman Catholic.

Frequent - 1 or 2 poems.

CATHOLIC STANDARD - 1849-1902

T. Richardson, weekly, 6d, 12 pp., Roman Catholic.

Infrequent.

CHEERING WORDS FOR THE HOUSEHOLD OF FAITH - Mar 1851--

Houlston & Stoneman, monthly, 0.5d, 16 pp., ed. Charles Waters Banks, unsectarian.

Frequent - 1 or 2 poems.

Verse by Helen Maria Allingham.

CHILD'S COMPANION - 1824-1922

RTS, monthly, 1d, 32 pp., evangelical.

Regular - up to 3 pp.

Verse by Charlotte Elizabeth, Newton.

CHILD'S FRIEND - 1865-1916

William Lister, monthly, 0.5d, 12-16 pp., ed. W. Antliff, then Philip Pugh, Primitive Methodist.

Regular - up to 3 pp.

CHILD'S OWN MAGAZINE - Jul 1852-?1937

SSU, monthly, 0.5d, 16-20 pp., nonconformist.

Regular - up to 4 pp.

CHILDREN'S BIBLE AND MISSIONARY BOX - Jan 1854-Aug 1854

J.F. Shaw, monthly, 1d for 3, 16 pp., evangelical.

Frequent - 1 or 2 poems.

CHILDREN'S FRIEND - 1824-1930

Seeley & Co, monthly, 1d, 24 pp., ed. W. Carus Wilson, evangelical.

Regular - 1 or 2 poems.

CHILDREN'S HOUR (Edinburgh) - Oct 1867-1871

Johnston, Hunter & Co, monthly, 3d, 64 pp., ed. 'MH'.

Frequent - 1 or 2 poems.

Verse by F.R. Havergal.

CHILDREN'S MAGAZINE & MISSIONARY REPOSITORY [also CHILDREN'S

PICTURE MAGAZINE, also PICTURE MAGAZINE] - 1838-1872

Simpkin, Marshall, monthly, 0.5d, then 1d, back to 0.5d, 16 pp., ed. J.F. Winks, Baptist.

Regular - 1 page or more.

CHILDREN'S MISSIONARY MAGAZINE [also CORAL MISSIONARY MAGAZINE] - Mar

1838-1894

J. Nisbet, monthly, 1d, 32 pp., ed. Miss J.M. Randall & M.A.S. Barber.

Occasional - 1 or 2 poems.

CHILDREN'S MISSIONARY RECORD [also CHILDREN'S RECORD OF THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND] (Edinburgh) - 1839-1900

John Johnstone then T. Nelson, monthly, 0.5d, 16-24 pp., Free Church of Scotland.

Frequent - 1 or 2 poems.

Verse by Bonar.

CHILDREN'S MONTHLY MISSIONARY NEWSPAPER (Edinburgh) - 1844-1861

James Gall & Son, monthly, 0.5d, 8 pp., ed. C.H. Bateman.

Regular - 1 poem.

Verse by James Montgomery.

Location - Cambridge University Library.

CHILDREN'S PRIZE - 1863-1875

William Macintosh, monthly, 1d, 16 pp., ed. J. Erskine Clarke, C. of E.

Regular - up to 3 pp.

Verse by C.F. Alexander.

CHILDREN'S RECORD OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN ENGLAND - 1868-1875

T. Nelson & Son, monthly, 0.5d, 16 pp., Presbyterian.

Regular - up to 1 p.

Verse by Bonar, Cowper, Tupper, Watts.

CHILDREN'S TREASURE - 1870-1873

Graphotyping Co.Ltd., monthly, 1d, 16 pp.

Regular - 1 to 6 poems.

Verse by Cowper.

CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE (Edinburgh) - 1857-Jun 1861

J. Taylor, monthly, 1d, 22 pp., ed. T.H. Milner.

Occasional - 1 poem.

Verse by Bonar, Charlotte Elliott.

CHRISTIAN ANNOTATOR - 1854-1857

Nisbet & Co., fortnightly, 3d then 4d, 16 pp., unsectarian.

Infrequent.

CHRISTIAN CABINET - 13 Jul 1855-28 Dec 1864

Houlston & Stoneman, weekly, 1d, 4-16 pp., unsectarian, evangelical.

Occasional - 1 or 2 poems.

CHRISTIAN COTTAGER'S MAGAZINE - 1845-1851

William Bennett, then Wertheim & Macintosh, monthly, 36-32 pp., ed. Rev. A Hewlett.

Frequent - in earlier issues; occasional later.

CHRISTIAN EVIDENCE JOURNAL - 1874-1875

Hodder & Stoughton, monthly, 2d, 44 pp., ed. B. Harris Cowper, Christian Evidence Society.

Infrequent.

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER & CHURCH OF IRELAND MAGAZINE (Dublin) - 1825-1839 and 1864-1865

George Herbert, monthly, 6d, 28 pp., C. of Ireland.

Occasional - 1 or 2 poems.

Location - Cambridge University Library.

CHRISTIAN FAMILY - Nov 1871-1888

Hodder & Stoughton, monthly, 1d, 12-24 pp., Congregational.

Regular - 1 poem.

CHRISTIAN FAMILY ADVOCATE (Edinburgh) - May 1852-1856

William Whyte & Co, then Houlston, monthly, 6d, 40 pp., ed. Catherine Ponsonby.

Occasional - 1-3 pp.

CHRISTIAN FREEMAN - Jul 1856-Nov 1910

J. Williams, monthly, 1.5d, 16 pp., ed. Rev. J. Robert Spears, Unitarian.

Regular - page or more.

Verse by Bonar, Tennyson, Whittier.

CHRISTIAN GUEST [merged with GOOD WORDS] (Edinburgh) - Feb 1859-Dec 1859

Alexander Strahan, weekly, 0.5d, 12 pp., Rev. Norman Macleod.
Regular - up to 1.5 pp.

CHRISTIAN HERALD AND TEMPERANCE JOURNAL - Oct 1862-Jun 1865

Edward Whittell, weekly, 1d, 8 pp., evangelical.
Infrequent.

CHRISTIAN JOURNAL (Glasgow) - 1850-Jun 1855

Robert Jackson, monthly, 4d, 60-48 pp., United Presbyterian.
Occasional - 1 poem.
Location - Cambridge University Library.

CHRISTIAN MESSENGER - 1865-1932

Richard Davies, then William Lister, monthly, 2d, 32 pp., ed. W. Antliff, Primitive Methodist.
Regular - 1 or 2 poems.

CHRISTIAN MISCELLANY & FAMILY VISITER (sic) - 1846-1900

John Mason, monthly, 2d, 32 pp., Methodist.
Regular - 1 or 2 poems.
Verse by James Montgomery.

CHRISTIAN OBSERVER - 1802-1877

W. Hunt, then Hatchard, monthly, 1s 6d, 72 pp., C. of E.
Infrequent.

CHRISTIAN PIONEER [earlier BAPTIST HALFPENNY MAGAZINE] - Jul 1846-1883

Simpkin & Marshall, monthly, 0.5d, 12 pp., ed. J.F. Winks, Baptist.
Regular - 2-6 poems.
Verse by J.D. Burns, Edmeston, James Montgomery, Quarles.

CHRISTIAN SENTINEL - 1855-1869

Nisbet & Co., monthly, 1d, 16 pp., United British Army Scriptural Readers' and Soldiers' Friendly Society.
Frequent - 1 poem.

CHRISTIAN STANDARD - 10 Oct 1872-1875

William Macintosh, weekly, 1d, 16 pp., ed. J. Grant, evangelical.
Occasional - 1 or 2 poems.
Verse by Frances Ridley Havergal.

CHRISTIAN TIMES - 1848-1859

W.J. Johnson, weekly, 6d, 16 pp., nonconformist.
Occasional - 1 poem.
Verse by Montgomery.

CHRISTIAN TREASURY (Edinburgh) - 1845-1896

John Johnstone, weekly, 1d, 12 pp., ed. H. Bonar, evangelical.
Regular - 1 or 2 poems.
Verse by Bunyan, Cowper, Montgomery, Quarles.

CHRISTIAN WEEKLY NEWS - Jul 1854-?Mar 1857

John Livesey, weekly, 4d, 16 pp., ed Rev. W. Leask, evangelical.
Regular - poetry column.
Verse by Henry Hogg.

CHRISTIAN WITNESS & CHURCH MEMBERS' MAGAZINE - 1844-1871

J. Snow, 3d then 4d, 48 pp., ed. J. Campbell, then John Kennedy,
 Congregational.
Frequent - up to 7 pp.
Verse by T.T. Lynch.

CHRISTIAN WORLD - 1857-1926

J. Clarke, weekly, 1d, 12 pp., ed. W.H. Whittemore, then James
 Clarke, nonconformist.
Regular - 1-3 poems.
Verse by Marianne Farningham.
Location - Dr Williams' Library.

CHRISTIAN WORLD MAGAZINE AND FAMILY VISITOR - 1866-1889

James Clarke, monthly, 6d, 80 pp., ed. Emma Jane Worboise,
 nonconformist.
Regular - up to 6 pp. In later years, occasional.
Verse by Marianne Farningham.

CHRISTIAN WORLD PULPIT - Nov 1871-1961

James Clarke, weekly, 1d, 16 pp., nonconformist.
Occasional - 1 or 2 poems.

CHRISTIAN'S FRIEND - 1874-1899

W.H. Broom, monthly, 1d, 24 pp.
Infrequent.

CHRISTIAN'S MONTHLY NEWS AND BRITISH PROTESTANT - Jul 1866-1869

A. Gadsby, monthly, 1d, 8 pp with 4 pp supplement, Protestant.
Frequent - 1 or 2 poems.

CHRISTIAN'S PATHWAY OF POWER - 1874-1878

S.W. Partridge & Co., monthly, 2d, 20 pp., ed. Evan H. Hopkins.
Occasional - 1 or 2 poems.
Verse by Charlotte Elliott, Dora Greenwell.

CHRISTIAN'S PENNY MAGAZINE AND FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE - 1846-1881

John Snow, monthly, 1d, 28 pp., ed. J. Campbell, F.S. Williams,
 Congregational.
Regular - up to 3 poems.
Verse by Longfellow, James Montgomery, Anna Potts.

CHURCH, THE [earlier BAPTIST PENNY MAGAZINE] (Leeds) - 1844-1891

Simpkin, Marshall, then J. Heaton, monthly, 1d, 28 pp., Baptist.
Occasional - 1 poem.
Verse by Bonar, Cowper, Herbert, James Montgomery.

CHURCH ADVOCATE (Bristol) - Jun 1866-Mar 1867

G. Morris then J. Masters, monthly, 2d, 16 pp., ed. G. Morris, Anglican.

Regular - 1 or 2 poems.

CHURCH AND HOME - 1874-1884

F.E. Longley, monthly, 1d, 16 pp., ed. F.E. Longley, unsectarian.

Regular - 1 or 2 poems.

Verse by Bonar.

CHURCH EXAMINER - 1853-Sep 1854

Ward & Co., monthly, 1d, 20 pp., ed. John Alexander etc., Congregationalist.

Frequent - 1 poem.

Verse by R.C. Trench.

CHURCH MAGAZINE - 1866-1867

J. Masters, monthly, 1d, 16 pp., Tractarian.

Regular - up to 2 pp.

CHURCH MISSIONARY GLEANER - 1841-1920

Seeley (for CMS), monthly, 1d, 12 pp., evangelical.

Regular - 1 poem.

Verse by Bonar, James Montgomery.

CHURCH MISSIONARY JUVENILE INSTRUCTOR -?1842-?1930

Seeley for CMS, monthly, 0.5d, 24 pp., evangelical.

Frequent - 1 poem.

Location - Cambridge University Library (1854 - 4 issues only)

CHURCH OF ENGLAND MAGAZINE - 1836-1875

James Burns, weekly, 1.5d, 16 pp., C. of E.

Frequent - 1-6 poems.

Verse by F.R. Havergal, Herbert, James Montgomery.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND SUNDAY SCHOLAR'S MAGAZINE [also CHURCH SCHOLAR'S MAGAZINE] - 1847-1858

Wertheim & Macintosh, monthly, 32 pp., ed. W.M. Whittemore, C. of E.

Regular - 1 or 2 poems.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND SUNDAY SCHOOL QUARTERLY MAGAZINE [later NEW MONTHLY MAGAZINE FOR C. OF E. SUNDAY SCHOOL TEACHERS also CHURCH SUNDAY SCHOOL MAGAZINE] - 1848-1864 (1923)

C of E S.S. Institute, quarterly, 1s, then monthly, 32-24 pp., ed. W.M. Whittemore, C. of E.

Frequent - 1-6 pp.

Verse by C.F. Alexander, Keble, Montgomery, Monsell, Trench.

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND MAGAZINE AND REVIEW (Edinburgh) - May 1853-Jun 1855

Alexander C. Moodie, monthly, 80 pp., C. of Scotland.

Occasional - 1 poem.

CHURCH OF THE PEOPLE [also FREE CHURCH PENNY MAGAZINE also FREE CHURCH MONTHLY MAGAZINE] - Nov 1853-1877

G. Bell, monthly, variously from 1d to 3d, 16 pp., then annually, Anglican.

Regular - 1 or 2 poems.

CHURCH STANDARD - May 1863-1866

Josiah Bruton, monthly, 1d, 8 pp., evangelical.

Occasional, then frequent - 1 or 2 poems.

CHURCH SUNDAY SCHOOL MAGAZINE (Leeds) - 1846-1853

T. Harrison, then Rivington, monthly, 16-32 pp., evangelical.

Regular - up to 6 pp.

Verse by Keble, Monsell, James Montgomery, Tennyson.

CHURCH TIMES - 1863-

G.J. Palmer, weekly, 1d, 8 pp., C. of E.

Occasional - 1 poem.

CHURCHMAN'S COMPANION - Feb 1847-1883

Joseph Masters, weekly, 1d, 16 pp., C. of E., ed. Felicia Skene.

Regular - up to 6 poems.

Verse by Herbert.

CHURCHMAN'S FAMILY MAGAZINE - 1863-1873

James Hogg & Sons, monthly, 1s, 96-112 pp., C. of E.

Regular, then occasional, up to 3 pp.

Verse by Sarah Doudney.

CHURCHMAN'S MAGAZINE - 1853-1857

J. Whitaker, monthly, 1s, 80-64 pp., C. of E.

Occasional - up to 8 pp.

Verse by James Ford, Longfellow, Robert Montgomery.

CHURCHMAN'S MONTHLY PENNY MAGAZINE - June 1846--

Wertheim & Macintosh, monthly, 1d, 28 pp., C. of E.

Regular - 1 or 2 poems.

Verse by A.L.O.E.

CHURCHMAN'S SHILLING MAGAZINE & FAMILY TREASURY - Mar 1867-Feb 1883

Houlston & Wright, monthly, 1s, 112 pp., ed. Rev R.H. Baynes, C. of E.

Frequent - 1 poem.

Verse by R.H. Baynes.

CONGREGATIONALIST, THE [also BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW also CONGREGATIONAL REVIEW] - 1872-1886 (?91)

Hodder & Stoughton, monthly, 6d, 64 pp., ed. R.W. Dale, J.G.

Rogers, Congregational.

Occasional - 1 poem.

CONSECRATED THOUGHTS - Sep 1874-1876

Norris & Co, monthly, 8 pp.

Occasional - 1-4 poems.

CONSTITUTION, THE (Dublin) - Apr 1853-1854

McKinnon Walbrook, monthly, 2s 6d per year, 24 pp., Protestant.
Frequent - 1-4 poems.

COTTAGER IN TOWN & COUNTRY [also COTTAGER AND ARTISAN] - 1861-1919

RTS, monthly, 1d, 8 pp., evangelical.

Regular - 1 poem.

Verse by Bonar, Cowper, Trench.

COTTAGER'S MONTHLY VISITOR - 1821-1856

Rivingtons, monthly, 4d, 36 pp., evangelical.

Occasional - 1 poem.

COUNTESS OF HUNTINGDON'S NEW MAGAZINE [earlier EVANGELICAL REGISTER]

1850-1885

Ward & Co, monthly, 2d, 32 pp., ed. J.K.F.

Frequent, then occasional - 1 or 2 poems.

CRUMBS FOR THE LORD'S LITTLE ONES - Jul 1853-1857

W. Kent & Co., monthly, 1.5d, 20 pp., ed. A.B.

Occasional - 1 poem.

DAWN, THE - 1861-1862

F. Pitman, monthly, 4d, 20 pp., ed. J.W. Farquhar, unsectarian.

Regular - up to 2 pp.

DAY OF DAYS - ?1872-1876

Home Words Publishing Office, monthly, 1d, 28 pp., ed. Charles Bullock, evangelical.

Regular - 2-4 poems.

Verse by Bonar, Gough, F.R. Havergal, Keble.

DAY OF REST - 1865-1867

Ward, Lock & Tyler, then Houlston & Wright, weekly, 1d, then monthly, 6d, 24 pp.

Occasional - 1-4 poems.

Verse by Robert Browning.

DAY OF REST - Dec 1872-1882

Henry S. King & Co, weekly, 1d, 16 pp. ed. Alexander Strahan.

Regular - 1-4 poems.

Verse by Greenwell, Ingelow.

DAY-STAR, THE - 1844-1876

Christian News Office, then Ward & Co, monthly, 1d, 20 pp., revival.

Regular - up to 4 pp.

Verse by Marianne Hearn (Farningham), Tennyson.

DR. FLETCHER'S JUVENILE MAGAZINE [earlier SABBATH SCHOOL TEACHER]

May 1848-1851

Arthur Hall & Co, monthly, 1d, 32 pp., ed. Rev Alexander Fletcher.

Frequent - 1 poem.

EARLY DAYS - 1846-1916

C.H. Kelly, monthly, 1d, 32 pp., Wesleyan.

Regular - 1-4 poems.

Verse by Edmeston, Charlotte Elliott, James Montgomery, Ellen Roberts.

EARTHEN VESSEL - 1845-1941

James Paul, monthly, 2d, 24 pp., ed. C.W. Banks, Baptist.

Frequent - 1-3 poems.

Verse by Helen Maria Allingham, Herbert.

EDINBURGH CHRISTIAN MAGAZINE (Edinburgh) - Apr 1849-1859

Paton & Ritchie, monthly, 32 pp.

Regular - 1-3 poems.

Verse by Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Cowper, Monsell, Montgomery, Tennyson, Tupper, Vaughan.

ENGLISH PRESBYTERIAN MESSENGER [also MONTHLY MESSENGER & MISSIONARY RECORD OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN ENGLAND] - May 1845-1867

Marlborough & Co, monthly, 3d, 32 pp., Presbyterian.

Occasional - 1 or 2 poems.

ERIN'S HOPE - 1853-1893

Wertheim & Macintosh, monthly, 12pp., Protestant.

Infrequent.

EVANGELICAL CHRISTENDOM - 1847-1855?

Partridge & Oakey, monthly, 6d, 32 pp., evangelical.

Infrequent.

EVANGELICAL MAGAZINE AND MISSIONARY CHRONICLE - 1793-1916

Ward & Co, monthly, 6d, 72 pp., evangelical.

Frequent - 1 or 2 poems.

EVANGELICAL WITNESS AND PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW (Dublin) - 1862-Oct 1866

Murray & Co, monthly, 2.5d, 16 pp., ed. Rev. John Hall, Irish Presbyterian.

Regular - 1 or 2 poems.

EVANGELIST, THE - 1859-1873

William Yapp, then Morgan & Chase, monthly, 1d, 8 pp., ed. H.H. Snell, evangelical.

Regular - 1 or 2 poems.

Verse by Montgomery.

EVENING HOURS - Apr 1871-1877

W.M. Hunt & Co., monthly, 6d, 64 pp., ed. E.H. Bickersteth, C. of E.

Regular - 1-3 poems.

Verse by Elizabeth Barrett Browning.

FAITHFUL WORDS - 1872-1902

W. Macintosh, monthly, 1d, 16 pp.

Frequent - 1 or 2 poems.

FAMILY FRIEND - 1849-1921

Houlston & Stoneman, monthly, then fortnightly, 32-64 pp.,
ed. R.K. Poil?, then W. Jones.

Frequent - up to 1 page.

FAMILY SUNDAY BOOK [also LITTLE HENRY'S SUNDAY BOOK] - 1851-1852

Houlston & Stoneman, monthly, 2d, 16 pp., ed. Newcombe.

Regular - 1-2 pp.

Verse by H.G. Adams, James Montgomery, Newton.

FAMILY TREASURY OF SABBATH (SUNDAY) READING - Feb 1859-1879

Nelson, monthly, 6d, 72-64 pp., ed. Rev. Andrew Cameron, then
W. Arnot.

Regular - up to 3 pp.

*Verse by A.L.O.E., Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Charlotte Elliott,
Trench, Wesley.*

FIRESIDE READINGS - Mar 1864-?1865

Simpkin, Marshall & Co., monthly, 2d, 32 pp., Roman Catholic.

Frequent - 1-3 poems.

FREE GOSPEL ADVOCATE (Oswestry) - 1850-1852

United Free Gospel & Christian Brethren Churches, monthly, 1d,
24 pp., ed. S. Fitzgerald, Moravian.

Frequent - 1 poem.

FREE GOSPEL MAGAZINE -1867-1897

Elliot Stock, monthly, 2d, 32 pp.

Frequent - 1 or 2 poems.

FRIEND, THE - 1843-1940

Charles Gilpin, monthly, 6d, 20 pp., Quaker.

Regular - up to 1 p.

Verse by Cowper, Herbert.

Location - Cambridge University Library.

FRIEND OF YOUTH - 1852-1865

James S. Hodson & Son, monthly, 1d, 28-32 pp.

Regular - 1 or 2 poems.

FRIENDLY VISITOR - 1824-1912

Seeley, monthly, 1d, 20 pp., ed. Carus Wilson, evangelical.

Regular - 1 poem.

FRIENDS' QUARTERLY EXAMINER - 1867--

F.B. Kitto, quarterly, 1s 6d, 172 pp., ed. W.C. Westlake, Quaker.

Frequent - up to 11 pp.

GENERAL BAPTIST REPOSITORY [also GENERAL BAPTIST MAGAZINE] - 1802-1901

Piper Bros & Co, then Simpkin, Marshall & Co, monthly, 4d,
56-40 pp.

Occasional - up to 1 p.

Verse by Hemans, Longfellow, James Montgomery.

GOLDEN HOURS - 1864-1884

W. Macintosh & Co, monthly, 1d then 6d, 14-16 pp., ed. W.M. Whittemore.

Regular - 2-3 poems.

Verse by J.M. Neale, Vaughan.

GOOD NEWS (Stirling) - 1862-1953

Kent & Co, monthly, 4d per dozen, 2s per 100, 4 pp., evangelical.

Frequent - 1 or 2 poems.

Verse by A.L.O.E., Bonar, Borthwick, Charlotte Elizabeth.

GOOD NEWS FOR THE LITTLE ONES [also GOOD NEWS FOR YOUNG PEOPLE and GOOD NEWS FOR YOUNG AND OLD] - 1859-1883

W.H. Broom, monthly, 1d, 24 pp.

Frequent - 1 or 2 poems.

GOOD WORDS - 1860-1906

A. Strahan, weekly, 1.5d, 16 pp., then monthly, 6d, 64-80 pp., ed. Norman Macleod, unsectarian.

Frequent - up to 8 pp.

Verse by Dora Greenwell, F.R. Havergal, Jean Ingelow.

GOOD WORDS FOR THE YOUNG [also GOOD THINGS FOR THE YOUNG OF ALL AGES] - Nov 1868-1877

Strahan & Co., monthly, 6d, 48 pp., ed. Norman Macleod, then George Macdonald.

Frequent - up to 8 pp.

GOSPEL ADVOCATE - 1869-1905

Houlston & Sons, monthly, 2d, 32 pp., ed. A.J. Baxter, unsectarian.

Regular - 1-3 poems.

GOSPEL BANNER AND BIBLICAL TREASURY - Feb 1848-1851

Ives & Swan, then Hall & Co., monthly, 1.5d - 2d, 30 pp., ed.

W.J. Dawson, nonconformist.

Occasional - 1 or 2 poems.

GOSPEL HERALD - 1833-1886

Houlston & Stoneman, monthly, 2d, 24 pp., Baptist.

Occasional - 1 or 2 poems.

Verse by Marianne Hearn (Farningham).

GOSPEL MAGAZINE - 1796-1880

W.H. & L. Collingridge, monthly, 6d, 48 pp.

Regular - 1 or 2 poems.

Verse by Bonar.

GOSPEL MISSIONARY MAGAZINE - 1851-1901

G. Bell & Sons, monthly, 0.5d, 16 pp., S.P.G. in Foreign Parts.

Regular - 1 poem.

Verse by C.F. Alexander, Monsell, Robert Montgomery, Tupper, Isaac Williams.

GOSPEL STANDARD (Manchester) - 1835--

John Gadsby, monthly, 2d, 32 pp., evangelical.

Regular - 1 or 2 poems.

Verse by Cowper, Toplady.

GOSPEL TIMES - Jan-Jun 1861

Robert Banks, weekly, 1d, 12 pp., Protestant.

Occasional - 1 poem.

GOSPEL TRUTHS [also GOSPEL BANNER] - 1872-1879

Houlston & Stoneman, monthly, 2d, 32 pp., Baptist.

Regular - 1-4 poems.

Verse by Bunyan, Watts.

GOSPEL WATCHMAN - 1869-1895

Yapp & Hawkins, monthly, 1d, 16 pp., evangelical.

Regular - 1-4 poems.

Verse by Bonar.

GOSPELLER, THE - 1868-1908

Mowbray & Co, monthly, 1d, 4 pp., C. of E.

Regular - up to 1 p.

GUARDIAN - 1846-1951

Martin Richard Sharp, weekly, 6d, 16 pp., C. of E.

Occasional - 1 poem.

Verse by Tupper.

GUIDE TO HOLINESS [also CLASS-LEADERS' MAGAZINE AND GUIDE TO HOLINESS
also KING'S HIGHWAY] - 1871-?

J. Clarke & Co., monthly, 2d, 32 pp., ed. Rev. J. Bate, then Rev. I.E. Page etc.

Frequent - 1 or 2 poems.

Verse by Bonar, Sarah Doudney.

HAPPY HOME, THE - May 1862-1866

Houlston & Wright, monthly, 1d, 4 pp., ed. Rev. Norman L. Walker.

Regular - 1 poem.

HEBREW CHRISTIAN WITNESS - 1872-1877

Elliot Stock, monthly, 2d, 16 pp., Anglo-Judaeo-Christian.

Occasional - 1 poem.

HERALD, THE (Wrexham) [also THE MONTHLY HERALD] - Jun 1857-1861

Simpkin, monthly, 1d, 12-24 pp., Calvinistic Methodist.

Regular - 1 or 2 poems.

HERALD OF MERCY - 1858-1879 (?1917)

Morgan & Chase, monthly, 0.5d, 8 pp., ed. D. Matheson, then W. Mackay.

Frequent - 1 or 2 poems.

Verse by Charlotte Elliott, Monsell.

HOME FRIEND, THE - Jun 1852-1856

SPCK, weekly, 1d, 24 pp., evangelical.

*Frequent - 2-4 poems.**Verse by Herbert, Longfellow, Milton, Robert Montgomery.*HOME VISITOR, THE - 1864-1893

William Hunt & Co., monthly, 1d, 28 pp., ed. Rev. Gordon Calthrop, C. of E.

*Frequent - 1 or 2 poems.*INDEPENDENT - 5 Jan 1867-10 Oct 1868

Frederick Hall Tonkins, weekly, 1d, 12 pp., Congregational.

*Infrequent.*IRISH CONGREGATIONAL MAGAZINE [also IRISH INDEPENDENT] (Dublin) - 1862-1973

John Robertson, monthly, 2d, 24 pp., Congregational.

*Frequent - 1 or 2 poems.*IRISH PRESBYTERIAN (Belfast) - 1853-1858

James Reed, monthly, 3d, 28 pp., Presbyterian.

*Occasional - 1 poem.*IRISH PRESBYTERIAN SABBATH SCHOOL TEACHER (Belfast) - Jun 1868-1872

Sabbath School Society for Ireland, monthly, 1d, 24 pp., ed. Samuel Haslett, Presbyterian.

*Regular - 1-3 poems.**Verse by Marianne Farningham, James Montgomery.*IRISH SUNDAY SCHOOL TEACHER'S MAGAZINE (Dublin) - 1850-1857

Samuel B. Oldham, monthly, 3d, 28 pp.

*Regular - 1-6 poems.*JUVENILE, THE - 1852-1854

Houlston & Stoneman, monthly, 1d, 20 pp., unsectarian.

*Regular - 1 poem.**Verse by Wordsworth.*JUVENILE COMPANION AND SUNDAY SCHOOL HIVE [formerly CHILDREN'S MAGAZINE, also SUNDAY SCHOOL HIVE AND JUVENILE COMPANION] - 1846-1891

Richard Abercrombie, monthly, 1d, 24 pp., ed. Rev. M. Baxter, Wesleyan.

*Regular - up to 1 p.**Verse by Cowper, Montgomery.*JUVENILE INSTRUCTOR AND COMPANION - 1850-1907

Partridge & Oakey, monthly, 1d, 28 pp., ed. William Cook.

*Regular - 1 or 2 poems.**Verse by Tupper.*JUVENILE MESSENGER OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN ENGLAND - 1855-1867

Marlborough & Co., monthly, 0.5d, 32 pp., Presbyterian.

Regular - 1 or 2 poems.

JUVENILE MISSIONARY MAGAZINE - ?1844-1939?

London Missionary Society, monthly, 0.5d, 24 pp., ed.

J.J. Freeman & E. Pront, Congregational.

April 1852 only - Cambridge University Library.

1 page verse.

JUVENILE MISSIONARY RECORD AND SABBATH SCHOLAR'S MAGAZINE

[formerly CHILDREN'S MISSIONARY RECORD, later SABBATH SCHOLAR'S TREASURY] (Edinburgh) - 1839-1868

Paton & Ritchie, 12 pp., evangelical.

Regular - 1 poem.

JUVENILE OFFERING - ?1848-?1878

J.F. Winks, monthly, 0.5d, 24 pp., Wesleyan.

Occasional - 1 poem.

1 volume (?first) only in BL, catalogued as 1848, n.d.

KIND WORDS - 1866-1879

SSU, weekly, 0.5d, 8 pp., ed. Benjamin Clarke, unsectarian.

Regular - 1-3 poems.

Verse by Longfellow, Jane Taylor.

LAMP, THE (York) [also ILLUSTRATED CHRISTIAN MAGAZINE] - 1850-1905

Thomas Earnshaw Bradley, weekly, 1d, 16 pp., ed. T.E. Bradley,

Roman Catholic.

Occasional - 1 or 2 poems.

LAMP OF LOVE, THE - 1853-1864

Gall & Inglis, then Houlston, monthly, 1d, 24 pp., ed. C.H.

Bateman, evangelical.

Regular - 2-4 poems.

Verse by Bateman, James Montgomery.

LITTLE GLEANER - Jun 1854-1951

Houlston & Sons, monthly, 1d, 30 pp., ed. S. Sears.

Frequent - 1 or 2 poems.

Verse by Charlotte Elliott, Hemans.

LITTLE PILGRIM, OR HOME AND SUNDAY SCHOOL EVANGELIST - 1857-1858

T. Nelson, monthly, 0.5d, 4 pp., evangelical.

Infrequent.

LITTLE STANDARD BEARER - Jan-Sep 1854

J.F. Shaw, monthly, 0.5d, 16 pp., Protestant.

Frequent - 2 or 3 poems.

Verse by James Montgomery, Tupper.

LOCAL PREACHER'S MAGAZINE - 1851-1985

John Harding then Aylott & Jones, monthly, 1d, 40pp., Wesleyan.

Frequent, then occasional - 1 or 2 poems.

LONDON CHRISTIAN TIMES [also ILLUSTRATED CHRISTIAN TIMES and CHRISTIAN TIMES] - 1863-1871

William Freeman, weekly, 1d, 12 pp., Evangelical C. of E.
Occasional - 1 poem.

MAGAZINE FOR THE YOUNG - 1842-1875

Mozley, monthly, 2d, 36 pp., C. of E.
Occasional - 1 poem.

MESSENGER OF LIFE - 1859-1860

Jarrold & Sons, monthly, 2d, 24 pp., ed. Rev.R. Poole, evangelical.
Regular 1-3 poems.

METHODIST FAMILY - Dec 1869-1894

Amos Osborne, monthly, 1d, 20-18 pp., Methodist.
Frequent - 1 or 2 poems.
Verse by Benjamin Gough.

METHODIST MESSENGER - 1871-1872

Wesleyan Conference Office, monthly, 1d, 16 pp., Methodist.
Occasional - 1 poem.
Verse by Crewdson, Vaughan.

METHODIST NEW CONNEXION MAGAZINE (Manchester) - 1798-1907

Methodist New Connexion Book Room, monthly, 6d, 64-56 pp., ed.
William Cook, Methodist.
Occasional - 1-3 poems.

METHODIST RECORDER - Apr 1861--

W.J. Johnson, weekly, 1d, 8 pp., ed. Rev.W.M. Punshon, Methodist.
Occasional - 1 or 2 poems.
Verse by Benjamin Gough.

METHODIST VISITOR - 1872-1885

Elliott Stock, monthly, 70.5d, 12 pp., Methodist.
Occasional - 1 or 2 poems.

METHODIST WORLD - 1870-?1872

James Clarke & Co., monthly, 6d, 64 pp., Methodist.
Jan and Feb 1870 only in BL. Poem in each issue.

MONTH, THE - Jul 1864-1980

Simpkin, Marshall & Co., monthly, 1s, 80-92 pp., Roman Catholic.
Occasional - 1 or 2 poems.

MONTHLY CHRISTIAN SPECTATOR [also CHRISTIAN SPECTATOR, then FREE CHURCHMAN AND CHRISTIAN SPECTATOR, then CHRISTIAN SPECTATOR] - 1851-1867

Arthur Hall, Virtue & Co., monthly, 6d, 64 pp., dissenting.
Occasional - 1 or 2 poems.

MONTHLY MESSENGER - 1850-1868

RTS, monthly, 4 pp.
Occasional - 1 poem or extract.
Verse by Charlotte Elliott.

MORAVIAN MAGAZINE - Oct 1853-Sep 1854

Binns & Goodwin, monthly, 4d, 32 pp., ed. J. England, W. Edwards,
G.L. Herman, Moravian.

Occasional - 1 poem.

MORNING OF LIFE - 1875-1878

SSU, monthly, 1d, 20 pp.

Frequent - 1 or 2 poems.

MOTHER'S FRIEND, THE - 1848-1895

B.L. Green [later Ward & Co with SSU], weekly, 0.25d, then
monthly, 1d, 20 pp., ed. Ann Jane, then Mrs Morgan, Congregational.

Regular - 1-4 poems.

MOTHERS' TREASURY - 1864-1912

The Book Society, monthly, 1d, 16 pp., evangelical.

Frequent - 1 or 2 poems.

MY SUNDAY FRIEND - 1870-1884

Griffith & Farran, later Mowbray, monthly, 0.5d, 8 pp., ed. C.A.
Jones.

Regular - 1 or 2 poems.

NONCONFORMIST - 1841-1915

John Henry Davis, weekly, 6d, 20 pp., ed. Miall.

Occasional - 1 poem.

Verse by Tennyson.

OLD PATHS - 1866-1913

D. King, monthly, 0.5d, 12 pp., ed. D. King, Anglo-Catholic.

Infrequent.

OLD TRUTHS (Ipswich) - 1864-1868

Houlston & Wright, quarterly, 6d, 36 pp., ed. Rev. John Cox,
Westminster Conference.

Regular - 1 or 2 poems.

Verse by Bonar and Quarles.

OUR CHILDREN'S PULPIT AND TALK WITH THE LITTLE FOLK - Feb-Nov 1873

Christian Age Office, weekly, 0.5d, 10 pp., ed. Rev.J. Edmond.

Occasional - 1 poem.

OUR FRIEND [also OUR FRIEND, OR THE ENGLISHMAN'S MAGAZINE] - 1854-Feb 1855

John F. Shaw, monthly, 6d, 48 pp., evangelical.

Regular - 1-6 poems.

OUR OWN FIRESIDE - 1864-1905

William Macintosh, monthly, 6d, 56 pp., ed. Rev. Charles Bullock,
evangelical.

Regular - 1-4 poems.

*Verse by R.H. Baynes, F.R. Havergal, Longfellow, Monzell,
Montgomery, Watts.*

OXFORD PAROCHIAL MAGAZINE (Oxford) - Nov 1860-Jan 1861

W.R. Bowden, monthly, 3d, 24 pp., C. of E.

*Regular - 2-3 poems.*PARISH MAGAZINE - 1859-1908

W. Wells Gardner, monthly, 1d, 16 pp., ed. J.E. Clarke, C. of E.

*Frequent - up to 4 pp.**Verse by Bonar, Cowper, Tennyson, Isaac Williams.*PATHWAY, THE - 1851-1854

Cassell, monthly, 2d?, 28 pp.

*Regular - 1-3 poems.*PEARLS FROM THE GOLDEN STREAMS - Oct 1861-1879

Houlston & Wright, monthly, 0.5d, 16 pp., ed. W. Hawkins.

*Regular - 1 or 2 poems.*PENNY POST - 1851-1894

J.H. Parker, monthly, 1d, 28 pp., C. of E.

*Frequent - up to 1 p.**Verse by Longfellow, Newman, Tennyson, Tupper.*PICTORIAL MISSIONARY NEWS - Dec 1865-1912

S.W. Partridge & Co., monthly, 1.5d, 12 pp., ed. H. Gratton

Guinness, evangelical.

*Regular - 1-3 poems.*PLEASANT HOURS FOR CHURCH SCHOLARS - 1861-1872

National Society's Depository, monthly, 1d, 12 pp.

*Frequent - up to 2 pp.*PRESENT AGE; OR TRUTHSEEKER - 1846-Apr 1851

Dr.F.R. Lees, then Houlston & Stoneman, monthly, then quarterly,

6d then 7d, 24-40 pp., ed. F.R. Lees, C. of E.

*Regular - up to 12 pp.*PRIMITIVE CHURCH (OR BAPTIST) MAGAZINE - 1844-1868

Dyer & Co., then Arthur Hall, then Elliott Stock, monthly, 4d-2d,

36-24 pp., Baptist.

*Frequent - 1 poem.**Location - Cambridge University Library.*PRIMITIVE METHODIST -11 Jun 1868-1932

Francis H. Hurd, weekly, 1d, 12 pp., Methodist.

*Frequent in earlier years - 1 poem.*PRIMITIVE METHODIST CHILDREN'S MAGAZINE [also PRIMITIVE METHODIST JUVENILE MAGAZINE then JUVENILE AND BIBLE CLASS MAGAZINE then JUVENILE MAGAZINE] - 1843-1936

T. Holliday, then Richard Davies, monthly, 28 pp., Methodist.

Regular - up to 4 pp.

PRIMITIVE METHODIST MAGAZINE [earlier A METHODIST MAGAZINE] -
1819-1898
Thomas King, monthly, 6d, 64 pp., ed. J. Petty, Methodist.
Regular - up to 1 p.

PROGRESSIONIST, THE - Aug 1863-Jan 1864
F. Pitman, monthly, 6d, 48 pp., ed. Rev. G.B. Porteous.
Frequent - 1 poem.

PROTESTANT OPINION - 1871-1875
William Walbrook, monthly, 5d, 24 pp., Protestant.
Frequent -1-4 poems.

QUIVER, THE - 1861-1956
Cassell, Petter & Galpin, weekly, 1d, 12-20 pp., nonconformist.
Occasional - 1 or 2 poems.

RAGGED SCHOOL CHILDREN'S MAGAZINE [later OUR CHILDREN'S MAGAZINE] -
1850-1868
Seeley, then Partridge & Co, then Kent & Co, monthly, 0.5d, 16 pp.,
evangelical.
Regular - up to 1 p.

RAGGED SCHOOL UNION MAGAZINE - 1849-1875
Partridge & Oakey, monthly, 2d, 24 pp., evangelical.
Frequent - 1 or 2 poems.

RAYS OF LIGHT - 1861-Jun 1863
G.J. Stevenson, weekly, 0.5d, then monthly, 2d, 8-32 pp., revival.
Frequent - up to 2 pp a month.
Verse by Edmeston, Herbert, James Montgomery.

REVIVAL, THE - 30 Jun 1859-1870
Morgan, Chase & Scott, weekly, 0.5d, 8 pp., evangelical.
Regular - 1 or 2 poems.

ROCK, THE (Edinburgh) - Feb-Oct 1855
Mitchell & Lindsay, weekly, 5d then 3.5d, 8 pp., Protestant.
Infrequent.

ROCK, THE - 17 Jan 1868--
W.H. Collingridge, weekly, 1d, 4 pp + 2 pp supplement, Protestant.
Frequent - 1 or 2 poems.
*Verse by Charlotte Elliott, F.R. Havergal, Montgomery, Tupper,
Wither.*

S. SCHOOL TREASURY - 1859
T. Nelson & Son, monthly, 2s per 100, 4 pp.
Occasional - 1 poem.

SABBATH SCHOOL MESSENGER [later CHILDREN'S MESSENGER] - 1857-1928
Partridge & Co (SSU), monthly, 0.5d, 4-8 pp.
Frequent - 1 or 2 poems.
Verse by C.F. Alexander, Newton.

SAILORS' MAGAZINE - 1820-1868?

Ward & Co., monthly, 1d, later quarterly, 24 pp., evangelical.
Infrequent.

SCOTTISH CHRISTIAN JOURNAL (Edinburgh) - 1848-1857

Thomas Grant, monthly, 2d, 32-24 pp., Presbyterian.
Regular - 1-6 poems.

SCOTTISH CONGREGATIONAL MAGAZINE (Edinburgh) - 1835-1880

Guthrie & Tait, monthly, 6d, then A. Fullarton, monthly, 4d, 32 pp.
 Congregational.
Infrequent.

SCOTTISH PRESBYTERIAN (Glasgow) [then REFORMED PRESBYTERIAN MAGAZINE (Edinburgh)] - 1835-1876

Johnstone, Hunter & Co., monthly, 4d, 30-40 pp., Presbyterian.
Infrequent.

SCOTTISH SABBATH SCHOOL TEACHERS' MAGAZINE (Edinburgh) - Dec 1845-1889

James Gall & Son, quarterly, 6d, 32 pp + 16 pp teaching notes.
Regular - 1 poem.
Verse by Bonar.
Location - Cambridge University Library.

SIGNS OF OUR TIMES [later CHRISTIAN HERALD] - May 1867--

John Snow & Co., monthly, 2d, 24 pp., ed. Rev M. Baxter, adventist, evangelical.
Infrequent.

SOUL'S WELFARE, THE - 1850-1852

Houlston & Stoneman, monthly, 16-32 pp., unsectarian.
Regular - 1-3 poems.

SOWER, THE - 1862-1951

Houlston & Wright, monthly, 0.5d, 12 pp., ed. S. Sears.
Regular - up to 6 pp.

SPIRITUAL MAGAZINE AND ZION'S CASKET [then SPIRITUAL MAGAZINE OR SAINT'S TREASURY] - 1825-1865

E. Palmer & Son, monthly, 4d, 32 pp., Baptist.
Regular - 2 pp.
Verse by Ebenezer Palmer ('Rezeneb').

SPIRITUAL WRESTLER, OR ZION'S CHILDREN IN THE WILDERNESS [later SPIRITUAL WRESTLER AND EVANGELICAL PULPIT] (Robertsbridge) - 1847-1854

R. Waters, then Houlston & Stoneman, monthly, 1d, 12-16 pp.,
Frequent - 1 poem.

STAR OF HOPE OR BAND OF HOPE JOURNAL - Oct 1859-1864

Horsell & Caudwell, monthly, 1d, 16 pp., ed. G.S. Dowling, temperance.
Regular - 1 poem.

SUNBEAM (Birmingham) - 1867-1887

D. King, monthly, 0.5d, 16 pp.

*Regular - up to 4 pp.**Verse by M.K.M., Montgomery.*SUNBEAM (Edinburgh) - 1858-1861

J. Menzies, monthly, 0.5d, 16 pp., ed. Thomas Hughes Milner.

*Regular - up to 4 pp.*SUNDAY AT HOME - 1854-1940

RTS, weekly, 1d, 16 pp., ed. James Macaulay, evangelical.

*Frequent in earlier years, then occasional.**Verse by Bonar, Isabella Fyvie, Herbert, Watts.*SUNDAY MAGAZINE - Oct 1864-1906

A. Strahan, weekly, 1d, 16 pp., ed. Thomas Guthrie, evangelical.

*Frequent - 1 or 2 poems.**Verse by Dora Greenwell, Christina Rossetti, A.L. Waring.*SUNDAY MORNING - 1870-1872

Simpkin, Marshall, monthly, 3d, 16-20 pp., ed. Henry Dunn.

*Regular - 2 poems.*SUNDAY READER - Jun 1866-1867

Hall & Co., weekly, 2d-1d, 24-20 pp., ed. John C. Miller.

*Regular - up to 2 pp.**Verse by R.H. Baynes, Cowper, Herbert, Montgomery.*SUNDAY READING ADAPTED FOR FAMILIES (Bath) - Jul-Dec 1861

Binns & Goodwin, weekly, 0.5d, 8 pp., evangelical.

*Regular - 1 or 2 poems.**Verse by Bonar, Edmeston.*SUNDAY READING FOR CHRISTIAN FAMILIES - Mar 1853-May 1855

Sunday Reading for Christian Families Office, weekly, 2d, 24 pp., ed. John Kitto.

*Regular - 1 or 2 poems.**Verse by Herbert, James Montgomery, Quarles.*SUNDAY READING FOR THE YOUNG [later SUNDAY] - 1872-1925

W.W. Gardner, weekly, 0.5d, 8 pp., ed. J. Erskine Clarke.

*Occasional - 1 or 2 poems.*SUNDAY SCHOLAR'S COMPANION - 1855-1903

C of E. S.S.I., monthly, 1d, 32 pp.; C. of E.

*Occasional - 1 or 2 poems.*SUNDAY SCHOOL CHRONICLE - Oct 1874- Oct 1928

SSU, weekly, 1d, nonconformist.

*Occasional - 1 poem.*SUNDAY SCHOOL PENNY MAGAZINE - 1848-1867

E.T. Whitfield, monthly, 1d, 20 pp., ed. Travers Madge.

*Regular - up to 3 pp.**Verse by Bowring, Keble, James Montgomery.*

SUNDAY SCHOOL REFORMER - Jan-Jun 1874

S.W. Partridge & Co., monthly, 1d, 24 pp., ed. Rev. S. Slocombe.
Infrequent.

SUNDAY SCHOOL TEACHERS' MAGAZINE [incorp. earlier SUNDAY SCHOOL MAGAZINE, later SUNDAY SCHOOL TEACHER] - 1830-1904

Richard Davis (SSU), then Houlston & Wright, monthly, 2d, 24-56 pp., ed. Rev J. Jordan.

Regular - 1-3 poems.

Verse by Isabella Fyvie, James Montgomery, Trench.

SUNDAY SCHOOL TIMES AND HOME EDUCATOR - 1860-Mar 1925

Benjamin Lowe & Co., weekly, 0.5d, 8 pp., nonconformist.

Regular - 1 or 2 poems.

Verse by Marianne Farningham.

SUNDAY SCHOOL WORKER - 1873-1878

G. Morrish, monthly, 1d, 20 pp.

Frequent - 1 poem.

SUNDAY SCHOOL WORLD - Oct 1874-1992

Elliot Stock, weekly, 1d, 16 pp., ed. George Andrew Hutchinson.

Occasional - 1 or 2 poems.

Verse by F.R. Havergal, A.L. Waring.

SUNDAY TEACHERS' TREASURY - 1858-1875

Wertheim & Macintosh, monthly, 3d, 32-48 pp., ed. W.M. Whittemore.

Regular - often over 1 p.

Verse by Watts.

SUNSHINE - 1862-1870 (?1921)

Wertheim & Macintosh, monthly, 1d, 16 pp., ed. W.M. Whittemore, C. of E.

Regular - 1-3 poems.

SWORD AND SHIELD - Aug 1870-1872

T. Williams, monthly, 1d, 8 pp., ed. Rev.C.J. Whitmore, Z.B.

Woffendale, evangelical.

Occasional - 1 poem.

TEACHER'S ASSISTANT AND BIBLE CLASS MAGAZINE [later SUNDAY SCHOOL RECORD AND TEACHER'S ASSISTANT] - 1873-1895

W. Stewart, monthly, 1d, 28 pp., ed. James Macpherson, Primitive Methodist.

Infrequent.

TEACHER'S JOURNAL OF SUNDAY SCHOOL EDUCATION (Manchester) - 1854-Apr 1855

E.T. Whitfield, then W. Tweedie, monthly, 2d, 16 pp., ed. Rev. Brooke Herford.

Infrequent.

TEACHER'S MONTHLY MAGAZINE [later CHURCH OF ENGLAND S.S. MONTHLY MAGAZINE FOR TEACHERS merged with C. OF E. S.S. QUARTERLY MAGAZINE 1851-1864

C of E. S.S.I., monthly, 2d, 32 pp., C. of E.

Frequent - 1 poem.

TEACHER'S OFFERING - 1823-1864

Jackson, Walford & Hodder, later Ward & Co, monthly, 1d, 28 pp.

Regular - 1 or 2 poems.

TRACT MAGAZINE AND CHRISTIAN MISCELLANY [formerly PENNY TRACT MAGAZINE] - 1824-1892

RTS, monthly, 1d, 28 pp., evangelical.

Frequent - 1 poem.

Verse by James Montgomery.

TRACTS FOR THE YOUNG - Mar 1858-Feb 1859

W. & H.S. Warr, monthly, 1d, 12 pp., ed. Rowland Elliott.

Occasional - up to 2 pp.

TREASURY, THE (Llanelly) - 1864-1884

D. Williams & Son, monthly, 1d, 24 pp., ed. Rev. Joseph Evans, Rev. W. Evans, Calvinist Methodist.

Frequent - 1 or 2 poems.

Verse by Marianne Farningham, Monsell.

TRUE CATHOLIC - 1870-1875

RTS, monthly, 1d, 12 pp., Protestant.

Infrequent.

Verse by Bonar, Borthwick.

TRUTHSEEKER, THE - May 1863-1887

E.T. Whitfield, then Trubner & Co, monthly, 3d, 24 pp., ed. John Page Hopps.

Infrequent.

UNION MAGAZINE FOR SUNDAY SCHOOL TEACHERS [merged with SUNDAY SCHOOL TEACHERS' MAGAZINE] - 1844-1867

SSU, monthly, 2d, 48 pp.

Regular - up to 3 pp.

Verse by James Montgomery, Raffles, Christina Rossetti, Tennyson, Isaac Williams.

UNION REVIEW - 1863-1875

J.T. Hayes, two monthly, 96 pp., Tractarian.

Frequent - 1 poem.

UNITARIAN HERALD (Manchester) - 4 May 1861-28 Jun 1889

Johnsons & Rawson, then James Hornsby, weekly, 1d, 12 pp., ed.

J.R. Beard, William Gaskell, Brooke Herford, John Wright,

Unitarian.

Occasional - 1 or 2 poems.

UNITED PRESBYTERIAN MAGAZINE (Edinburgh) [formerly UNITED SECESSION MAGAZINE] - 1833-1887

W. Oliphant & Sons, monthly, 4d, 48 pp., Presbyterian.
Occasional - 1 poem.

UNIVERSE - 8 Dec 1860--

Dennis Lane, weekly, 1d, 8 pp., Roman Catholic.
Frequent - 1-3 poems.

VOICE OF TRUTH, OR THE BAPTIZED BELIEVER'S PENNY MAGAZINE - 1860-1869

G.J. Stevenson, monthly, 1d, 16-20 pp., ed. R. Hoddy, Baptist.
Frequent - 1 or 2 poems.

VOICE TO THE FAITHFUL, A - 1867-1908

London Gospel Tract Depot, monthly, 1d, 32 pp.
Frequent - 1 poem.

WATCHMAN AND WESLEYAN ADVERTISER [earlier WATCHMAN] - 1835-1884

William Gautress, weekly, 6d, 8 pp., ed. W. Gautress et al, Wesleyan.
Infrequent.

WATCH-TOWER, THE - May-Jul 1865

Watch-Tower Office, monthly, 1s, 128 pp., C. of E.
Regular - 2-10 pp.

WATCHWORD (Edinburgh) - Apr 1866-1873

James Nichol, then Nisbet & Co, monthly, 3d, 32 pp., nonconformist.
Infrequent.

WEEKLY VISITOR AND CHRISTIAN FAMILY READER - 1851-Jun 1854

Wertheim & Macintosh, weekly, 1.5d, 16 pp., ed. Rev. R. Bickersteth, evangelical.
Occasional - 1 or 2 poems.

WELCOME WORDS - ?1867-1891?

T. Newton, monthly, 0.5d, 16 pp., ed. Rev. Robert Brewin, Methodist.
Regular - 1 page.
Verse by F.R. Havergal.
BL - 1880 only.

WESLEY BANNER AND REVIVAL RECORD - 1849-Oct 1854

Partridge & Oakey, then W.B. King, monthly, 3d, 16 pp., ed. Samuel Dunn, James Everett, William Griffith, Wesleyan.
Occasional - 1 or 2 poems.

WESLEYAN JUVENILE OFFERING - 1844-1878

John Mason, monthly, 1d, 12 pp., Wesleyan.
Regular - 1 poem.

WESLEYAN METHODIST MAGAZINE [formerly ARMINIAN MAGAZINE and METHODIST MAGAZINE] - 1778-1913

John Mason, monthly, 6d, 104 pp., Wesleyan.
Occasional - 1 or 2 poems.

WESLEYAN SPECTATOR AND GENERAL REVIEW OF RELIGION, LITERATURE AND SOCIAL ECONOMY - Jan-Sep 1863

John Willey, weekly, 2d, 20 pp., then monthly, 3d, 24 pp., then 4d, Methodist.

Occasional - 1 poem.

WESLEYAN SUNDAY SCHOOL MAGAZINE AND TEACHERS' ASSISTANT [later WESLEYAN SUNDAY SCHOOL MAGAZINE AND JOURNAL OF EDUCATION] - 1857-1931

John Mason, monthly, 2d, 24 pp., Wesleyan.

Regular - 1 poem.

Verse by Herbert, Wesley.

WESLEYAN TIMES [later METHODIST TIMES] - 1849-1869

John Harrison, then G.J. Stevenson, weekly, 5d, 16 pp., Methodist.

Infrequent.

WINNING WORDS (Edinburgh) - 1865-1872

Gall & Inglis, monthly, 1d, 16 pp.

Regular - 1 or 2 poems.

Verse by Charlotte Elliott, Montgomery, Tennyson.

WITNESS, THE (Edinburgh) - 1840-Feb 1864

Miller & Fairly, weekly, 4.5d, ed. Hugh Miller, Church of Scotland.

Infrequent.

WORDS OF TRUTH (Glasgow) - 1866-1874

Robert Allan, monthly, 1d, 20 pp.

Frequent - 1 poem.

YOUNG CHURCHMAN, THE - Jan-Mar 1872

Bemrose & Sons, then Hodder, monthly, 1d, 12 pp., C. of E.

Regular - 1-3 poems.

Verse by Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Herbert.

YOUNG MEN'S MAGAZINE (Glasgow) - Jan-Oct 1854

Stark & Kidd, monthly, 2d, 20 pp., Young Men's Christian Association.

Occasional - 1 or 2 poems.

YOUNG PILGRIM - 1865-1903

T. Nelson, annual, 1.5d; 24 pp.

Regular, then occasional - 1-3 poems.

Verse by A.L.O.E., Bonar, J.D. Burns.

YOUNG TEMPLAR (Birmingham) - 1873-1876

Curtice & Co., monthly, 0.5d, 8 pp., ed. James Yeames, temperance.

Regular - 1-5 poems.

Verse by Cowper.

YOUTH'S MAGAZINE [incorp. with BIBLE CLASS MAGAZINE] - 1805-1873

SSU, monthly, 2d, 40 pp., evangelical.

Occasional - 1 poem.

ZION'S TRUMPET - Mar 1833-1868

J. & G. Nichols, monthly, 1d, 16 pp., ed. ?Nichols, Calvinist.

Regular - 1-4 pp.

ZION'S WITNESS - Oct 1858--

Herbert Wilcockson, then Partridge & Co., monthly, 2d, 16 pp., ed.

Arthur Wilcockson, Baptist.

Frequent - 1 or 2 poems.

APPENDIX B

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF RELIGIOUS VERSE PUBLICATIONS, 1851-60

The following annotated bibliography provides a listing of religious verse publications for the period 1851-60. The lists include a few publications mixing prose and verse, which have at least twenty per cent verse content. The Victorian enthusiasm for Cowper, Milton and Tupper as essentially religious poets has led to the inclusion of relevant publications by these writers. A number of earlier poets were popular, notably Watts and Herbert.

Each year within the decade is listed separately in alphabetical order of author (title where no author is given). All the publications are in English, and published in London unless otherwise stated. Where any edition other than the one listed has been examined, this is stated. The majority of volumes are in their original bindings. Where this is other than publisher's cloth, or the volume has been re-bound, this fact is noted.

The information for the bibliography has been drawn largely from the Publishers' Circular, Bent's Monthly Literary Advertiser, the Bookseller, the English Catalogue, Daniel Sedgwick's Comprehensive Index of Names of Original Authors of Hymns (2nd ed., 1863), the British Library Catalogue, Cambridge University Library Catalogue, The Intelligencer (1854-5), the Elias Collection held at Westminster College, Cambridge, together with individual publishers' catalogues and advertisements.

Prices are given where available - most often as stated in the Publishers' Circular or publishers' advertisements; some of the more ephemeral pamphlet publications carry a price on cover or title page.

In some cases there is doubt about authorship or the exact date of publication. Where this information is not given on the title page, square brackets are used, and the support for the attributions given in the annotation.

The basic entry for each item contains the following details, in so far as they are ascertainable:

Author, title, place of publication (other than London), date, edition (other than first), publisher, number of pages, additional pages of advertising, binding (other than publisher's cloth), price.

The annotations (in italics) provide information as available on:

- (i) date of first edition;
- (ii) dates of further editions in the period 1851-75;
- (iii) additional information from title page;
- (iv) brief indication of nature of work, with quotation from Preface, Preliminary Notice or Advertisement when useful;
- (v) in the case of hymn collections, where no page numbering is used, the number of hymns is stated, and information on indexes and supplementary material given;
- (vi) Note on physical presentation of volume (eg: illustrated edition);
- (vii) source of attribution;
- (viii) location of copy examined, where this is other than the British Library.

It must be emphasized that the term edition has been used as in the works concerned: frequently there is no textual alteration, and a new impression is a more correct designation. It has been impossible to locate intervening editions for many titles, and thus accurate information in this area is scant. Where significant alterations have been noted in a later edition, this fact is recorded in the annotation.

All entries are numbered, and cross referenced where appropriate, later impressions in the decade having separate entries.

There is inevitably an element of subjectivity about the titles included. Many verse collections cover a wide range of topics, including religious material; only those volumes in which this is a

significant element (30 per cent or more) of the collection are included. The term religious has been taken to refer to all writing concerned with Christianity, including Christian morality, or more generally God as a supreme being.

The other problematic area is that of completeness: it is virtually impossible to claim any kind of definitive status for these listings. Often such publications are highly localized, and regional searches would no doubt significantly extend these listings. Though inevitably incomplete, the material here can be taken as representative of the volume of material on the market during this period, and also of the diversity of Sunday verse.

Material listed under Addenda was not located for examination until after the completion of the main body of the bibliography, and it is not included in the statistical survey presented in Appendix C. All items are held in the British Library, unless otherwise stated.

Abbreviations used

BL	British Library
CUL	Cambridge University Library
Elias	Elias Library of Hymnology, Westminster College, Cambridge
Julian	John Julian, <u>A Dictionary of Hymnology</u> (1892, rev.ed. 1907)
Sedgwick	Daniel Sedgwick, <u>Comprehensive Index of Names of Original Authors of Hymns</u> second ed., (1863)

1851

1. ALLINGHAM, Helen Maria, A Closet Companion for the Daughters of Zion Part II (1851)
Houlston & Stoneman, viii, 158, re-bound.
'Being original poems on the person, work, sufferings and Triumphs of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and some on the longings and labours of living souls.' (Title page)
Part I: 1850. Bound in with Part II in BL copy.
2. AYRE, Joseph, Christian Philanthropist's Pilgrimage, Cantos I and II and Other Poems (1851)
2nd ed., Whittaker, viii, 106, 5s.
1st ed.: 1850.
Concern for social outcasts. Asks *'Who is thy neighbour?'*
3. BAILEY, Thomas, The Advent of Charity, and Other Poems (Nottingham, 1851)
Simpkin, viii, 120, 2s 6d.
'To the Religious and Charitable Institutions of Great Britain.' (Title page)
'The great requirement of our age, as respects its literature, is the production of a grand moral Poem, worthily setting forth the spirit of the times in which we live... . The principal poem in this collection...is only a sketch or outline, of what such a Poem should comprehend.' (Preface)
4. [BARING, Charles, Thomas Garnier, J.H. Gurney], Psalms and Hymns for Public Worship (1851)
Hatchard, unnumbered pp., re-bound, 1s, 2s, 4s.
Editors' signatures appended to Preface. 1874: 14th thousand.
300 hymns; over half from Gurney's 1838 collection.
'Selected for some of the Churches in Marylebone.' (Title page)
'The object of the editors ... has been to provide a Book of Common Praise for their people.' (Preface)
Table of first lines with authors. Indexes of seasons, subjects, texts. [1874 edition examined]
5. BASSETT, Matilda, Bible Gleanings (1851)
Partridge & Oakey, xi, 115, cloth gilt, 3s 6d.
'Published for the benefit of the Woolwich Ragged Schools.' (Title page)
Verses based on biblical texts. Poet claims to be *'more conversant with the rules of domestic government than of those necessary to rhythmical composition.'* (Preface)
6. BICKERSTETH, Edward Henry, Nineveh, A Poem (1851)
Wertheim & Macintosh, 31 pp., paper, 1s.
Sees Nineveh as warning type of self-destructive civilization.

7. BOWRING, John, Matins and Vespers, with Hymns and Occasional Devotional Pieces (1851)
4th ed., Whitfield, xii, 278, 2 ads., 2s 6d.
1st ed.: 1823. 'I have not sought to be original. To be useful is my first ambition.' (Preface)
8. BRIDGES, Matthew, Hymns of the Heart: for the Use of Catholics [1851]
2nd ed., Richardson & Son, 111 pp., limp cloth.
1st ed.: 1848. Date from Preface to second edition.
Author Anglican convert; 5 new pieces added to second edition.
9. Cabinet Edition of the British Poets Vol 1 (1851)
Henry C. Bohn, re-bound.
Includes complete poems of Milton and Cowper, vii, 131 and iv, 114.
10. CHAPMAN, Rev W., A Memoir of the Rev.W. Chapman, for forty years Minister of Greenwich Road Chapel, including a selection from his Sermons, with Annual Hymns and Other Poems (1851)
Ward & Co., xi, 292, 5s.
'The hymns...comprise, with several miscellaneous pieces, the series of hymns composed by Mr Chapman for his Annual Sermons to young people.' (Preface) Verse content from p.209.
11. CROLY, George, Scenes from Scripture, with Other Poems (1851)
Colburn & Co., xiv, 218, 24 pp catalogue of new work, 10s 6d.
Includes 'Esther', 'John the Baptist', 'Belshazzar'.
12. ELLIS, Mrs Henry Clements, Sacred Thoughts (1851)
Dalton, vi, 93, 3s 6d.
Written during 'a long period of bodily weakness and suffering', poems are nearly all based on biblical texts, many in hymn form.
13. Evergreen. The: a Selection of Religious and Preceptive Poetry [1851]
Darton, , viii, 256, embossed cloth gilt, red. to 3s 6d.
1st ed.: 1831.
10th ed. examined (BL date 1843-45?). English Catalogue lists a 12th ed.: 1860. See item 506. In 1851 Publishers' Circular.
Includes work by Mrs Hemans, James Montgomery, Wordsworth.
'A Tasteful selection. There are several pieces bearing the signature of W. GURNEY, which are exceedingly pretty.'
(Gospel Magazine, February 1852, 96)
14. FOWLER, Henry, A Selection of Hymns for the Use of Spiritual Worshippers (1851)
?[3rd ed], Simpkin, 3s, 2s 6d.
1st ed.: 1832. 'I have long thought that the best and most proper Hymns for Public Worship are those which are expressive of prayer, confession and praise to the Lord. From this conviction I have altered many Hymns...' (Preface) See item 769.

15. FYSH, Frederick, A Lyrical, Literal Version of the Psalms,
vol.2. (1851)
Seeley, 226 pp., 4s 6d.
Vol.1 published in 1850 at same price. Unrhymed; annotated.
16. [GARLAND, F.A.], Titus Before Jerusalem and Other Poems
(Bath, 1851)
Binns & Goodwin, xvi, 355, 18 pp Binns catalogue, 5s.
Author attribution: CU Catalogue.
Title poem in rhymed couplets. Other poems predominantly religious verse. Copy in CUL.
17. Gift at Confirmation: A Selection of Poems in Illustration of the Service (1851)
Rivington, xix, 256, 4s.
Edited by the author of 'Aids to Development', 'Memorials of Two Sisters', 'Governess's Life', 'The Country and London', etc. Index of first lines, with authors.
Includes works by Herbert, Vaughan, Quarles, Milton, Ken, Toplady, Hogg, Hart, Keble, Lyte.
18. HANKINSON, Thomas Edward, Poems (1851)
3rd ed., Hatchard, vii, 406.
1st ed.: 1844.
Collection of Seatonian Prize Poems, edited by his brothers.
Copy in Elias Collection. See items 840, 844.
19. HART, Rev. Joseph, Hymns Composed on Various Subjects (1851)
New ed. Aylott, xxxii, 224, 2s 6d, 2s.
1st ed.: 1759, supplement 1762.
With the Author's Experience, the Supplement and Appendix, by the Rev. Joseph Hart. Late Minister of the Gospel in Jewin Street. Baptist. Well indexed; separate indexes on Scriptures, Subjects, First Lines, and First Lines of all Verses except the first.
119 hymns, plus 13 in Supplement. See items 423, 518.
20. HAWKINS, Rev. Ernest (ed.), Verses for 1851 (1851)
G. Bell, 2s 6d, 2s.
In commemoration of the Third Jubilee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Contains work by A.C. Coxe, C.F. Alexander, Martin Tupper.
2nd ed. 1852 examined. See item 110.
21. HUNT, Alfred William, Nineveh (1851)
G. Bell, 15 pp., 1s 6d.
A Prize Poem, recited in Oxford on 3 July. In rhymed couplets; about the inevitable failure of pagan gods.
22. Hymns (1851)
Hope & Co., 36 pp, paper.
Church of England; arranged according to church seasons.
32 hymns and doxologies.

23. Hymns Adapted to the Sunday Services of the Church of England (Dublin, 1851)
4th ed. S.B. Oldham, vi, 141, re-bound.
Designed chiefly for the use of Sunday Schools. Index of first lines; no authors.
24. Hymns and Anthems Adjusted to the Church Services Throughout the Christian Year (1851)
Hope & Co., xxviii, 200, [xxiii].
Index of first lines in order of appearance; index of leading ideas; index of first lines with author or source. Copy in CUL.
25. Hymns and Thoughts for the Sick and Lonely (Bath, [1851])
2nd ed., Whittaker, x, 143, 6 ads., 2s 6d.
BL copy bears inscription dated December 1850. Listed in 1851 Publishers' Circular. Item 136 by same author.
26. Hymns for the Children of God in their United Worship (1851)
2nd ed., J.K. Campbell, ix, 11-306, embossed cloth.
Ilfracombe selection; 1st ed.: 1843. 310 hymns, 'a second part for Mutual Exhortation and Comfort.' (Title page)
Index of first few words; no authors.
27. Hymns for the Use of Schools (1851)
National Society, members 1s per dozen; non-members 1s 4d per dozen, 32 pp, re-bound.
Hymns for main Church festivals, with a few general pieces.
28. Hymns for the Worship of Christians (Dublin, 1851)
J. Robertson, xii, 312.
Index of first lines; 395 hymns; Catholic.
29. KEBLE, John, The Christian Year (1851)
J.H. & J. Parker.
This edition not traced. Listed in Publishers' Circular 1851. See items 123, 357, 527, 606, 696, 785.
30. -----, Lyra Innocentium (1851)
5th ed., J.H. Parker, xii, 214, 14 ads., 3s 6d, 5s.
1st ed.: 1846; 11th ed.: 1867.
'Thoughts in Verse on Christian Children, Their Ways and Their Privileges.' (Title page) See items 283, 786.
31. L, E., The Morning of Life or Thoughts for the Young Christian in Prose and Verse (1851)
?2nd ed., W.F. Ramsay, ix, 160, 1s.
1st ed.: Aberdeen, 1850. Half volume of verse; varied verse forms, reflective poems and hymns.

32. Lays of Palestine (1851)
 F. & J. Rivington, xi, 394, 2 ads., 7s 6d.
Dedicated to Sarah King, widow of late Lord Bishop of Rochester.
'The object of the Author has been to draw from the noble scenes of Hebrew History recorded in the Old Testament thoughts suggestive of support and comfort, of warning and encouragement, in the daily duties of Christian social life.' (Advertisement) *From Creation to Daniel.*
 Copy in CUL.
33. [LEE, F.G.], Lays of the Church, and other verses, intended chiefly for Young Persons (1851)
 Masters, 36 pp., 1s.
 Attribution: BL catalogue.
34. LONG, Lady Catherine, Heavenly Thoughts for Morning Hours (1851)
 Nisbet, xx, 279, 4 ads., silk, gilt edge, 4s 6d.
'Selections in prose and verse, with passages from Scripture.'
 (Title page) Index of first words. Extracts for each day of the year: bible, verse, prose. Includes pieces from In Memoriam, and work by Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Tupper.
35. MARTINEAU, James (ed), Hymns for the Christian Church and Home (1851)
 8th ed., Chapman, xlii, unnumbered pages, Appendix xxx.
 650 Hymns; index of tunes; index subjects; index authors; index of first lines; index of altered first lines; index of texts. 1st ed.: 1840; 19th: 1874. Much Watts and Montgomery.
 See items 127, 444, 610, 701.
36. MEADE, John, Scriptural Diversions, or Scenes and Subjects of Holy Scripture Versified (Buckingham, [1851])
 Richard Chandler, 95 pp., limp cloth, 2s.
 Date from English Catalogue; BL copy accession date 1852.
'considered suitable for Sunday reading, and capable of affording (to young persons at least) some profitable instruction, combined with amusement.' (Preface)
 Subjects include Jonah, Joseph, Moses, John the Baptist.
 Most poems of devotional nature start from biblical text.
37. Metrical Hymns for the Christian Year, for congregational use [1851]
 John Ollivier, 144 pp., re-bound, 10d.
 Reprinted from Parish Choir; 144 hymns. Index to metrical hymns. Listed in Publishers' Circular for 1851; dated c.1854 by Julian in his copy (BL).

38. MILTON, John, The Poetical Works (1851)
H.G. Bohn, 2 ads, iv, 20, xvi, 549, 3s 6d.
With explanatory notes and a life of the author by the Rev. H. Stebbing, to which is prefixed Dr Channing's essay on the poetical genius of Milton. (Title page)
39. -----, Works of John Milton (1851)
new ed. in 8 vols., W. Pickering, v.1: clxxxviii, 270;
v.2: xix, 415; v.3: 530; v.4: 581; v.5: 457; v.6: 488;
v.7: 469; v.8: 569 pp.
Printed from the original editions, with a life of the author by Rev. John Mitford. Copy in CUL.
40. Missionary Hymns for Children (Sheffield, [1851])
G. Ridge, 12 pp., paper.
Date from BL catalogue.
12 hymns, 'partly original.' (Title page) Includes 'From Greenland's icy mountain'.
41. MONTAGU, M., The Psalms in a New Version (1851)
Hatchard, lxxx, 528, re-bound, 15s, 2s 6d.
'fitted to the tunes used in churches, with notes in examination of the difficult passages.' (Title page)
Chronological list of all complete versions of psalters, 1549-1848. First line index, general index. Rhymed quatrains.
42. -----, Seven Penitential Psalms in Verse (1851)
New ed., enlarged, Hatchard, xli, 189, paper boards, 5s.
A specimen of the preceding volume. 1st ed. 1844, whilst work was in progress. Appendix with early versions - by Verstegan, Daniel, etc.
43. MONTGOMERY, James, The Christian Psalmist, or Hymns Selected and Original [1851]
?9th ed., Collins, xxxiii, 456, quarter leather, 2s.
1st ed.: 1825. With Introductory Essay. In series 'Select Christian Authors' no.25.
10th ed.: 1857. British Library copy of ninth edition bears no date; accession date 1851. See items 212, 534.
44. -----, The Poetical Works (1851)
Longman, xx, 368, leather.
Collected by himself (title page)
45. MONTGOMERY, Robert, The Christian Life: A Manual of Sacred Verse (1851)
4th ed, Rivington, 5s.
1st ed.: 1849. See items 214, 369.
46. -----, Lyra Christiana: Poems on Christianity and the Church Original and Selected (1851)
G. Bell, xv, 302, 4s.
Index to first lines; prefatory poem to dead son. See item 535.

47. MORTON, W. The Woman of Shunem, and other Original Poems ?[1851]
 J. Snow, iv, 214, 5s.
'chiefly of a moral and religious order, some of them founded on, or paraphrases of Scriptural passages, not a few translations from various languages, and among these some illustrative of Hindu religious and ethical philosophy.' (Dedicatory letter)
 BL copy dated 1850; listed in Publishers' Circular and English Catalogue as 1851 publication.

48. NASH, William Newenham, Sabbath Hours: a Collection of Original Poems and Melodies (1851)
 Houlston & Stoneman, xvii, 85.
'An humble contribution...of poetry tending to lead the children of this world to the Cross, and thence to the glory it has purchased.' (Preface)
 Non-biblical subjects, but emphatic religious emphasis.

49. NEALE, J.M., Mediaeval Hymns and Sequences (1851)
 Masters, xiii, 158, 2 ads., 2s 6d.
 A scholarly edition, with introduction and notes.

50. New Hymn Book, The (1851)
 B.L. Green, unnumbered pp., leather.
 Produced by the General Baptist Association. Thematic arrangement. Concern to include only those hymns which 'are accurate in their historical, doctrinal, and prophetic statements.' (Preface)
 970 hymns and doxologies; index of first lines with authors, scriptural index.

51. PERCEVAL, John (ed), Poems, by a Prisoner in Bethlehem (1851)
 E. Wilson, xv, 95, 12 pp publisher's catalogue, cloth gilt, 2s 6d.
 Written by Arthur Legent Pearce. Contains a paraphrase of some of Job in verse. Edited by the Hon. Secretary to the Alleged Lunatic Friends' Society, and published for the benefit of the author.

52. [?PHILIPPS, W.T.], A Selection of Hymns and Anthems, in Use at All Saints Church, Fittleton (1851)
 Hope & Co., 54 pp., re-bound.
 Popular selection; few authors given. Index of first lines.
 Attribution: BL catalogue.

53. PIGGOTT, Rev. Solomon, Noah and His Days, or The Times of the Millenium ?[1851]
 Wertheim, xvi, 194, 5s.
 A posthumous piece in eleven books, edited by son. Rhymed narrative, mostly 8 line stanza. Title work attacks Byron, Moore and Shelley for 'misrepresentation of Scripture'.
 Not dated. British Library copy catalogued in 1852; title listed in Publishers' Circular and English Catalogue for 1851.

54. POWER, P.B., Sacred Allegories and Other Poems (1851)
Haselden, iv, 193, 3s 6d.
'intended to be either the exemplification of some divine truth, or an incitement to the consequent [sic] of rightly holding divine truth.' (Preface)
55. Protestant Lays from Many Lyres, collected by a lady ?(1851)
Wertheim, 59 pp., limp cloth, 1s 6d.
BL copy dated 1850; announced as 1851 publication in Bent's Monthly Literary Advertiser and English Calendar.
Includes work by M.A. Stodart, Cowper.
56. Psalms and Hymns for the Use of the Church (1851)
Hope & Co., 213 pp., re-bound.
Index of first lines with authors; index of subjects.
Much Watts.
Copy in CUL.
57. Psalms and Hymns Selected for the Congregations Assembling in Exeter Hall During the Great Exhibition of 1851 (1851)
J. Gadsby, iv, 22.
58. R, E., Sunlit Clouds, or Sorrow Brightened (Bath, ?[1851])
2nd ed., Whittaker, xi, 137, 10 pp. publisher's catalogue.
cloth gilt, 2s 6d.
A few poetical and other fragmentary pieces on sacred subjects, compiled in memory of a beloved sister, by M.R. Privately published in 1837. Half in verse, mostly on biblical texts. No date; BL copy entered 1852. Announced in 1851 publications in July issue of Publishers' Circular.
59. RAINE, Rosa, Floreat Ecclesia: A Manual of Church Poesy (1851)
J. Hughes, xii, 106, 2 ads., cloth gilt, 2s 6d.
"Fathomless Eternity" is placed first, in order to show the importance of time, seen in the light of infinity; for if we do not "work while it is called today", an "evil and perverse generation" will ripen in the midst of our English hearths.' (Argument) Earnest moral tone, urging man to do good.
60. RICHARDSON, H.K. (ed), Psalms and Hymns for Public, Social and Private Worship (1851)
Houlston & Stoneman, unnumbered pp., embossed cloth.
357 hymns; 16 doxologies and 3 concluding hymns.
Table of first lines with authors; index of subjects; table of metres and tunes; table of psalms.
'My desire has been to supply a judicious collection of Psalms and Hymns, for private as well as public use.'
(Preface) Copy in CUL.

61. RIPPON, John, A Selection of Hymns from the Best Authors (1851)
 New ed., Arthur Hall, Virtue & Co., xvi, 617, re-bound, 2s 6d.
*'Including a great number of originals, intended as an
 Appendix to Dr Watts's Psalms and Hymns.'* (Title page)
 1st ed.: 1787.
 Thematic arrangement; index of first words; authors given.
62. [RORISON, Gilbert], Hymns and Anthems, adjusted to the Church
 Services Throughout the Christian Year (1851)
 Hope & Co., xviii, unnumbered pages.
 Introduction, 200 hymns, indexes. Attribution: Julian.
63. Rose Allen. A Martyr Story: and Other Poems, Chiefly Sacred
 (1851)
 Nisbet, 2s 6d, v, 160.
'By a father.' (Title page) Title poem drawn from Fox's Book of
 Martyrs; sequence of twelve sonnets on Luther.
 Copy in CUL.
64. RUSSELL, Arthur T., Psalms and Hymns, Partly Original, Partly
 Selected, for the Use of the Church of England
 (Cambridge, 1851)
 John Deighton, viii, unnumbered pp., re-bound.
 Table of tunes; index to psalms; index to hymns (first
 lines); index to hymns in order, with authors and dates.
 Mostly translated material.
65. S, E.N., Sacred and Moral Poems (1851)
 Houlston & Stoneman, iv, 80, 1s 6d.
 Index to titles. Many start from biblical text. Thematic
 emphasis on 'All thy works praise thee, oh! Lord'.
66. Sabbath Songs For Infant Ears (Edinburgh, 1851)
 Paton & Ritchie, 16 pp., paper, 1d.
 7 poems; much emphasis on death.
67. Sabbath Souvenir, A [?1851]
 B.L. Green, viii, 72, 4 ads., paper, 6d.
*'Intended to remind Christian professors of their obligations to
 observe the sacred day of rest and devotion appointed by God.'*
 (Title page) Title listed in Publishers' Circular, August 1,
 1851. No date in BL copy, which has 1856 accession date.
 Includes poems by Herbert, Milton, Grahame, Edmeston,
 James Montgomery, Robert Montgomery, Mrs Sigourney.
68. Sacred Year, Containing Hymns and Verses for Every Sunday
 and Holyday in the Year [1851]
 Wertheim & Macintosh, xii, 429, re-bound, 6s, 4s 6d, 3s 6d.
 No date on title page: in 1851 Publishers' Circular.
'The present volume is not intended for congregational use.'
 (Preface) No authors given; index of first lines.
 Copy in CUL.

69. Select Psalms and Hymns, suitable both for Public Worship and Private Use (1851)
William Jones, x, unnumbered pp., embossed cloth.
500 psalms and hymns. Index to subjects; index of first lines.
70. Selection of Psalms and Hymns adapted to the Fast, Festivals and Various Services of the Church of England (Liverpool, 1851)
22nd ed., Deighton & Laughton, iv, 240.
Indexes of first lines and subjects. Copy in Elias collection.
71. Selections from the Christian Poets, Ancient and Modern (1851)
Seeley, xiii, 431, embossed cloth gilt, 12s.
In 1855 reduced to 7s 6d.
Translations of Latin and German poems; 'modern' include Keble, Montgomery, Millman, Conder. Copy in CUL.
72. SHEPPARD, John G., St. Paul at Athens (Oxford, 1851)
2nd ed., F. Macpherson, 19 pp., re-bound, 1s 6d.
University prize poem for 'the best poem on a sacred subject'. Keatsian blank verse.
73. SMITH, Jeremiah, Psalms and Hymns Adapted to the Services of the Church, according to the Use of the United Church of England and Ireland, and also to Private Reading (1851)
6th ed., W.M. Watts, x, unnumbered pp., 2s, 1s 9d, 1s 6d.
4th ed.: 1846. Versions of all psalms and 410 hymns.
Indexes. See item 718.
74. STEBBING, Henry, Jesus, a Poem in Six Books (1851)
Hall, Virtue & Co., iv, 209, 5s.
Chronological account of major episodes in Christ's life.
Blank verse. Also some Minor Poems, religious and/or philosophical in nature.
75. STODART, M.A., National Ballads, Patriotic and Protestant (1851)
New ed., Blackadder, re-bound, 1s 6d.
1st ed.: 1841; anti-Catholic.
This edition not located. 1841 edition examined.
76. [STUART, Edward], Hymns for the Church of S. Mary Magdalene, Munster Square, Regent's Park (1851)
J. Masters, 138 pp., limp cloth.
143 hymns. See item 554. Editorial attribution: BL catalogue.
77. Sunday-School, The, A Poem in Three Cantos (1851)
Hope and Co., 74 pp., 2s.
By 'a Clergyman of the Church of England'. Idealised typical Sunday, with morning and afternoon sessions at Sunday-school; final Canto celebrates 30 years of Sunday schools.
Rounded off by 'Eldest Teacher's Tale'.

78. TAYLOR, Ann and Jane, Hymns for Infant Minds (1851)
40th ed., Jackson & Walford, x, 144, 2 ads., embossed cloth,
1s 6d.
'containing many hymns never before published.' A much
reprinted title during this period. 1st ed.: 1809.
See items 152, 310, 470, 638, 824.
79. TOWNSHEND, C.H., Sermons in Sonnets, with a text on the
New Year and other Poems (1851)
Chapman and Hall, vii, 323, 7s 6d.
109 sonnets, all except last based on biblical text. Also sonnet
sequence on the months, and rhymed couplets on the New Year.
80. TUPPER, Martin F., Ballads for the Times (1851)
2nd ed., Hall, Virtue & Co., vii, 470, 2 ads, embossed cloth,
16 pp catalogue, 7s 6d.
1st ed.: 1850. See item 236. Copy in CUL.
81. -----, Half-a-Dozen No-Popery Ballads [1851]
Simpkin & Marshall, 12 pp., paper, 2d.
82. -----, Proverbial Philosophy (1851)
New ed., Hatchard, 7s.
This edition not traced. See items 153, 237, 312, 471, 558-59, 827.
83. WATTS, Isaac, Divine Songs in Easy Language for the Use of
Children (c.1851)
Houlston and Stoneman, 72 pp, limp cloth.
Approximate dating: BL catalogue.
84. -----, The Psalms and Hymns of Dr Isaac Watts (1851)
Ward & Co, xxxii, 311, leather.
Revised, and the hymns arranged by John Burder. (Title page)
Index of first lines; index of texts; index of subjects.
Copy in CUL. See item 315.
85. -----, The Psalms of David Imitated in New Testament
Language (1851)
John Snow, xii, 468.
*'Together with the Three Books of Hymns and Spiritual Songs,
Re-arranged in One Series, the whole carefully revised by
Josiah Conder.'* (Title page)
Index of first lines; index of first lines of each verse
excluding the first; index of subjects. Copy in CUL.

86. WEBSTER, Thomas, Psalms and Hymns, Selected for Families, Schools and Congregations (1851)
 21st ed., Seeley, x, 212, 1s.
 2nd ed.: 1819.
'It is used in several Parishes of every Diocese'
 (Advertisement)
 288.hymns, index of subjects, index of texts. Arranged in alphabetical order of first lines, which 'precludes the necessity of an Index of First Lines, and enables those who are not well acquainted with figures to find any hymn without difficulty.' (Advertisement) See item 240.
87. [WILLIAMS, Isaac], Hymns on the Catechism (1851)
 3rd ed. J. Masters, 104 pp., paper.
 1st ed. 1843. Advertisement signed I.W., Bisley, 1842.
 5th ed.: 1866.
'There is much need of some assistance towards following out that catechetical instruction which is so essential a part of the Church-system.' (Advertisement)
88. [WILSON, Thomas], Select Hymns; a Supplement to Dr Watts' Psalms and Hymns (1851)
 24th ed. J. Haddon; xii, unnumbered pp., leather.
 1st ed.: 1823. Preface signed T.W.; Thomas Wilson in BL catalogue.
'Designed for the Use of Congregations assembled at Hoxton, Paddington, and other chapels in London.' (Title page)
 283 hymns; index of subjects, index of first lines.

1852

89. [ALEXANDER, C.F.], Hymns for Little Children (1852)
5th ed., J. Masters, 72 pp., limp cloth.
Dedication signed C.F.H. By the author of 'The Lord of the Forest', 'Verses for Holy Seasons' and 'The Baron's Little Daughter.' 308th thousand: 1867. See items 480, 571.
90. [B, W.C.], Millenium; or the Judgement of Antichrist [1852]
Piper Bros & Co., 16 pp., paper, 4d
No date. Copy in CUL; accession date 1852. Initials follow Preface. Blank verse. 'It is expected that this Poem will be completed in three Nos., price 4d each.' (Inside cover)
'Man has almost invariably linked together Poetry and Fiction; God has linked together Poetry and Truth.' (Preface)
91. BARNES, W., A Selection of Psalms and Hymns (Richmond, 1852)
New ed, rev., John Bell, viii, 398.
1st ed.: 1832. With appendix selected by Rev. L. Ottley.
'Intended for Public Worship, As Well as for the Use of Families and Individuals.' (Title page) Index of first lines; no authors.
'endeavoured...so to reduce the price, as to bring the book within the more easy reach of all classes.' (Preface)
92. BAYLDON, George, Annals of the Christian Church, in Metre, from the Apostolic Age to the Period of the Reformation (1852)
Rouse & Co., x, 316, embossed cloth, 5s.
Index 1st lines. 'My object... is to present as concise, clear, and faithful a narration of ecclesiastical facts to the reader's mind as I am able to convey through the medium of metre.' (Advertisement) In rhyming couplets.
93. BONAR, H.(ed.), The New Jerusalem; a Hymn of the Olden Time (1852)
Nisbet, xlvi, 116, [3s 6d].
Reprinted from a Broadside; lengthy Preface, notes, and Appendix with parallel hymns. 1st ed.: 1776 ?
94. BRIDGES, Matthew, The Passion of Jesus, a Collection of Original Pieces Corresponding with the Five Sorrowful Mysteries in the Rosary of Our Blessed Lady (1852)
Richardson & Son, 154 pp., cloth gilt.
Dedicated to Cardinal Wiseman. 'Few Catholic devotions have been more misrepresented or ridiculed, by Protestants.' (Preface)
Gethsemane; The Flagellation; The Crown of Thorns; The Way of the Cross; The Crucifixion.
95. BROOKE, R.S., Poems Illustrative of Grace - Creation - Suffering (Dublin, 1852)
Seeley, xv, 167, 3s 6d.
'The unpopularity of Sacred poetry proceeds from causes even more remote than the natural antagonisms in man's evil heart against anything of God... one of them is, that the subject is ever above the verse.... Another cause... is that the subject is never original.' (Preface)

96. BUDGETT, Mary, The Priest: a Poem [1852].
W. Walker, vii, 38, limp cloth, 1s.
Narrative poem about African missionary, in rhyming couplets.
Date of accession to BL; listed in Publishers' Circular 1852.
97. Christian Melodies: a Selection of Hymns for Public and Private Use (Dublin, 1852)
8th ed., William Curry & Co.
2nd ed.: 1828. Copy examined: 6th ed., 1842.
With an appendix of forty additional hymns, selected by a clergyman of the established church.
'It is not in public worship alone that sacred poetry is valuable: experience has proved how much it is calculated to assist private devotion, and how excellent a vehicle it is for the religious instruction of the young.' (Preface)
98. Church Hymn Book, compiled from various Sources and Adapted to the Services of the United Church of England and Ireland (Ipswich, 1852)
Longman, vi, 55, limp cloth, 6d.
Prints 'none but those which agree entirely with the doctrine of the Church of England.' Index 1st lines.
99. Church Sunday School Hymn Book, The (1852)
G. Bell, xvi, unnumbered pages, xxiv, 1s 6d, 8d.
400 hymns, preceded by Liturgy. Indexes of tunes, authors, first lines. 1st ed. 1847; copy examined: new selection 1868, published C.of E. Sunday School Institute.
100. [CLAPHAM, J.P.], Hymns Selected and Original, for the Use of Teachers and Scholars (1852)
Twenty-third thousand, John Heaton, Sunday School Union, vi, 298, xvi, leather.
Compiled by direction of the Leeds S.S.Union. Index of first lines. 400 hymns.
BL copy carries handwritten dedication:
'Emma Clapham, from the retiring superintendent of George's Street Sunday School, in token of paternal love.'
1st ed. 1833; much Watts, Wesley, Cowper, Montgomery.
Thematic arrangement; includes selection of Miscellaneous Hymns not adapted for singing.
101. CLAY, Edmund, Psalms and Hymns (1852)
Davies, xi, 168, index, 1 ad., 1s 6d.
'From some of the most generally approved books of Christian Psalmody: arranged and adapted for the Services of the Church of England throughout the year.' (Title page)
Dedicated to Bishop of Worcester. Index of first lines; no authors. Index of subjects. Preface dated January 1853, but copy bears 1852 date. Copy in CUL. See item 333.

102. [COLENSO, J.W.], Psalms and Hymns for Use in the Church of England, at Home and in the Colonies (1852)
George Bell, [v] 192, [ii], 6d - 1s 6d.
Attribution of authorship in MS addition to CUL copy.
Also BL catalogue. 100 psalms, 250 hymns. Index of first lines of hymns, index of first lines of psalms;
'to include only such as should be in strict accordance with the spirit of the Litany of the Church of England.'
(Advertisement)
See items 170, 255.
103. Collection of Moral and Social Songs for the use of Secular Schools, A (Glasgow, 1852)
J. Robertson, 48pp., paper.
'Calculated to instil into the youthful mind opinions which will contribute to the elevation of the feelings, and the improvement of the morals of the children under their care.'
(Preface) Produced by the Glasgow Sunday Educational Association. Contains work by Eliza Cook, Mary Howitt, Thomas Cooper, Charlotte Young [*sic*], Charles Mackay, F.G. Lee, James Montgomery, Charles Swain, Isaac Watts.
104. [COOKE, William, and William Denton, eds.], The Church Hymnal, Book of Hymns Adapted to the use of the United Church of England and Ireland (1852)
Whittaker, 233 pp., re-bound.
Part I: Advent to Epiphany; Part II: rest of Church year.
281 hymns. See items 172, 335, 416. Attribution of editors: Julian and BL catalogue.
105. CORF, Eliza, Moral and Religious Essays, Poems and Anecdotes, and Extracts from my Diary 2 v. (1852)
Simpkin, v.1, xvi, 289; v.2, xii, 296, 10s.
Mixture of prose and verse with didactic aim.
106. COWPER, William, The Poetical Works, with Life (1852)
T. Nelson & Son, xlvi, 535, 16 pp catalogue, embossed cloth gilt.
Copy in CUL. See items 176, 338, 671.
107. [FREEMAN, Philip], Sunday - A Poem (1852)
J. Masters, 12 pp., paper, 4d.
Couplet rhyming quatrains. Attribution - Masters 1857 catalogue.
108. G, H., Poems, Sacred and Miscellaneous (Liverpool, 1852)
Deighton and Laughton, iv, 120, cloth gilt, 4s 6d.
72 pp of sacred verse.

109. [HALL, W.J.], Psalms and Hymns Adapted to the Services of the Church of England (1852)
 Rivington, vii, 86 and unnumbered pp., 4d - 16s.
 303 hymns, with doxologies and sentences. 1st ed.: 1836.
 Index of first lines of both psalms and hymns; table of psalms and hymns suited to particular occasions.
 No authors; familiar material. Editor identified at end of preface.
 Chooses hymns which 'by their expression and sentiment, commend themselves both to the educated and the unlettered Christian. Portions of four verses only have been chosen...except where the unity of the subject required an addition.' (Preface) See items 189, 271, 514-15, 599, 682.
110. HAWKINS, Rev. Ernest, The Jubilee Year (1852)
 2nd ed., viii, 228, 2s, 2s 6d.
 Comprising "Verses for 1851" and several additional poems (title page). See item 20. BL copy begins at p.147.
111. HULL, William W., A Collection of Prayers for Household use, with some Hymns, and Other Poems (1852)
 2nd ed., Seeley, 5s, xxiv, 250.
 1st ed.: 1828. Bulk of volume given to hymns and verse. Many poems on biblical texts.
112. Hymns (Ormskirk, 1852)
 T. Hutton, 194 pp.
 Index of first lines; familiar material.
 Copy in Elias collection.
113. Hymns for Church Services: Arranged According to the Articles of the Creed (Derby, 1852)
 J.& C. Mozley, vi, unnumbered pages, 1s 6d.
 248 hymns; index of first lines.
 'Care has been taken to choose such only as may fairly claim a poetical character... none have been admitted in which poverty of sentiment, weakness of expression, and doggerel versification, have too often been excused on account of the sanctity of their subjects, and the purity of their doctrine.' (Preface)
114. Hymns for Infant Children [1852]
 J. Masters, 28 pp., paper, 1d.
 About daily routine, Jesus, death, heaven.
 Date of accession to BL.
115. Hymns for the Church of God [1852]
 Houlston & Stoneman, Part 1, 2nd thousand, 296 pp., 1s 6d.
 Nearly all draw on biblical sources. Predominance of blood, wounds and sacrifice. See item 688.

116. Hymns for the Services of the Church of England (Windermere, 1852)
J. Garnett, unnumbered pp., quarter leather.
109 hymns, plus 3 pp index; Appendix with further 87 hymns, and index to whole volume of first lines.
Follows Church calendar.
117. Hymns for the Services of the Church, selected from Various Sources, for the Use of Country Congregations
Simpkin, Marshall & Co., iv, unnumbered pp., 6d.
'The number has been restricted for the sake of bringing its price within the reach of the poor.' 60 hymns, index of first lines. Arranged according to the seasons of the Christian year.
118. Hymns Selected for Holy Seasons (1852)
G. Bell, 6d, iv, 48.
Arranged according to church calendar. No authors.
119. Hymns Selected from Various Authors, proposed as a Supplement to the Psalmody of the Church of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1852)
Neill & Co., unnumbered pp., paper.
Appendix of Hymns for Private Devotion, Sabbath Schools and Children. 280 hymns and 96 in Appendix.
120. Infant Scholar's Hymn Book, The [1852]
Sunday School Union, unnumbered pp., paper, 10s per 100.
84 hymns; work by Watts, Taylors. Date of accession to BL.
121. JOHNSTON, J.A., English Hymnal, or a Hymn Book for the Use of the Church of England (1852)
J.H. Parker, viii, 284, 1s 6d.
With an appendix containing selections from the metrical versions of the Psalms.
Attribution: Julian. Index to first lines.
'In harmony with the teaching of the Book of Common Prayer.'
(Preface)
122. JONES, Charles William, A Poetical Essay on the Immortality of the Soul: to which is added an Essay on the Improvement of the Mind, and other poems (1852)
Houlston & Stoneman, 72 pp., limp cloth, 1s 6d.
Title poem in rhymed couplets.
123. KEBLE, John, The Christian Year (1852)
40th ed., Parker, 7s 6d, 10s 6d.
See items 29, 357, 527, 606, 696, 785.
124. KELL, Rev. Edmund, An Addition to the Supplement of Kippis's Collection of Hymns and Psalms (1852)
2nd ed., Longman, viii, 70-160, paper, 1s 6d, 4s 6d.
For public and private worship. Index of subjects. Includes work by Bowring, Montgomery, Cowper, Heber, W. Gaskell.

125. LA TROBE, John A, Psalms and Hymns, Arranged under Subjects, Suited for Private, Social and Public Worship (1852)
New ed., Seeley, xi, 381.
1st ed.: 1841. (A Selection of Hymns)
Indexes of texts, first lines with authors, subjects (as contents page). Includes original work.
Collected with 'a design to embrace the various subjects of Christian doctrine, experience, and practice, so as to form a Body of Divinity.' (Preface) Copy in Elias collection.
126. McCOMBIE, William, The Beauties of Modern Sacred Poetry (Aberdeen, 1852)
Nelson, xviii, 20-372, re-bound, 3s 6d.
See item 529.
127. MARTINEAU, James, Hymns for the Christian Church and Home (1852)
9th ed., John Chapman.
See items 35, 444, 610, 701.
128. MASKELL, Eliza, Bible Heroes, Containing Selections from Scripture History (1852)
Houlston & Stoneman, 172 pp.
'With suitable and practical remarks, designed to incite to the perusal and love of God's Holy Word.' (Title page)
First three narratives in prose, with short concluding poem.
Second half of volume is 'The History of Joseph', a verse narrative in seven parts.
129. [MONTGOMERY, John], Thoughts on Man, in his Relation to God and to External Nature, with Minor Poems (1852)
Pickering, iv, 168, and 4 pp. ads., 4s 6d.
Blank verse. Minor poems reprinted from periodicals.
Author attribution: BL catalogue. See item 368.
130. MONTGOMERY, Robert, Luther: or, Rome and the Reformation (1852)
6th ed., rev. & enl., James Blackwood, 392 pp., re-bound, 5s.
1st ed.: 1842. Blank verse.
'the writer is enabled to state that, not only in his own country, but in America, Germany and in the continent, this essay on the Reformation has been welcomed.' (Preface)
131. [MURRAY, Francis H., ed.], A Hymnal for Use in the English Church (1852)
J. & C. Mozley, xii, 166, 10d, 1s 6d.
'to supply the wants of a particular parish...both in doctrine and arrangement, a companion and complement to the Book of Common Prayer.' (Preface)
No authors. Editorial attribution: BL catalogue. See item 375.
132. NASH, Caroline, Reflections on the Value of the Scriptures, and other Poems (1852)
F. Clemence, iv, 5-100, re-bound.
Mixed religious and miscellaneous-verse. Preface (by publisher) refers to success of her earlier publication, 'The Sacred Bee' [1850], 'about to be reprinted.' No trace of this re-issue.

133. NEALE, J.M., Hymns for Children, Intended Chiefly for Village Schools (1852)
5th ed. rev. and corr., Masters, 33 pp., limp cloth.
134. -----, Hymns for the Young (1852)
3rd ed., Masters, 35 pp. (Bound with preceding title)
135. -----, The Words of the Hymnal Noted [1852]
J.A. Novello and J. Masters, 53 pp., re-bound.
*Later editions contain more material - see items 216, 376-78.
Date attributed by BL catalogue.*
136. Night-Scented Flowers, and Other Poems and Hymns (Bath, [1852])
Binns and Goodwin, 42 pp, 2 ads and 16 pp catalogue, paper boards, 1s.
By author of 'Hymns and Thoughts for the Sick and Lonely' [item 25]. No date, but advertisements in back quote comments from 1852 periodicals. 'Hymns and Thoughts' advertised as 2nd thousand. Copy in CUL.
137. NODDER, E.M., Gleanings for the Humble (1852)
F. Clemence, viii, 96, re-bound.
*'The sentiments embodied in these verses have often proved...a solace in seasons of affliction.' (Preface)
Much biblical material.*
138. [P, C], Hymns and their Tunes Selected for Public and Private Worship (1852)
George Bell, viii, 71.
*Preface signed C.P. Index of first lines, with tune.
'Inserting none but what appeared...to be hymns wherein piety of sentiment is combined with poetry of diction.' (Preface)*
139. PAGE, James A., Protestant Ballads (1852)
Whittaker, xii, 168, 5s 6d.
*'The author...is more ambitious of being considered a good Protestant, than a good Poet ... his sole design being to aid in stirring up, and keeping alive, that flame of Protestant feeling, which is so valuable, in these days of half-heartedness and lukewarmness in the cause of Truth.'
(Preface) Much military imagery.*
140. PARSONS, Mrs Letitia, Hymns and Poems on Various Subjects (1852)
2nd ed., Houlston, viii, 104, 1s.
*Composed under a long series of affliction and deprivation of sight. (Title page) Author lived 1744-1806. 1st ed.: 1806.
Personal poems rather than hymns.*
141. PEACE, William, The Christian Conflict: A Poem (1852)
Painter, 60 pp., paper, 8d, 1s.
The Tractarian Heresy, the Spiritual Leprosy of the Nineteenth Century. (Title page) C. of E. Blank verse. See item 220.

142. PHILLIPS, John, Hymns for the Festivals and Fasts of the Church of England (1852)
J.H. Jackson, 84 pp., leather, 9d.
Very small, closely printed volume; 94 hymns.
Copy in CUL.

143. POTTS, Anna H., Simple Poems for National and Sunday Schools (Cambridge, 1852)
Cambridge University Press, 36 pp., re-bound.
'Poetry is not the exclusive gift of the rich and highly educated, though it may be better appreciated for the latter... The humblest efforts may be useful, if made in the right spirit, and under the guiding influence of Christian principles.' (Preface)

144. PRINCE, Theodosia, Sacred Lays from a Baxterian Harp [1852]
John Snow, 128 pp.
Date of accession to BL. Poems written at the beginning of the century, 'modelled, as regards metre, on patterns found in the hymn book.' (Memoir)

145. PYE, Henry John, Book of Hymns, arranged for Sundays and Holy Days and Certain of the Offices of the Church (Oxford, 1852)
J.H. Parker, 120 pp., limp cloth, 1s.
Index of first lines.

146. RITCHIE, John, The Crucifixion, a Poem in Twelve Books (1852)
Simpkin, 480 pp., re-bound, 8s.
Narrative in rhymed couplets. Follows account to Ascension.

147. [SEDGWICK, John], Oremus: Short Prayers in Verse for Sundays and Holy Days, Suggested by the Services of the Church of England (1852)
Francis and John Rivington, 88 pp., cloth gilt.
Author listed in Daniel Sedgwick's bibliography; MS addition in Julian's copy. However, Preface uses feminine pronoun.

148. Select Hymns and Prayers, translated from the original Latin into English Lyric Verse. By a Member of the Society of Jesus (Dublin, 1852)
James Duffy, viii, 60, paper.
Parallel Latin/English texts.

149. Selection of Psalms and Hymns for Public and Private Use, A (1852)
W. Clowes & Son, 180 pp.
Index of first lines. Copy in Elias collection.

150. Selection of Psalms and Hymns for the Use of Churches, A: to which are Added Hymns adapted to the Festivals of the Church of England (Worcester, 1852)
18th ed., R. Child, 200 pp.
Index of first lines. Copy in Elias collection.

151. Selection of Psalms and Hymns for the Use of the Church of Darley, A (1852)
4th ed., J & C Mozley, viii, 152.
Table of first lines; index of subjects; no authors.
Copy in CUL.
152. TAYLOR, Ann and Jane, Hymns for Infant Minds (1852)
41st ed., Jackson and Walford, 1s 6d.
See items 78, 310, 470, 638, 824.
153. TUPPER, Martin F., Proverbial Philosophy (1852)
12th ed., Hatchard, 7s.
See items 82, 237, 312, 471, 558-59, 827.
154. TURNER, Frances, Devotional Breathings, in Verse (1852)
J.J. Guillaume, viii, 127.
Dedicated to Earl of Shaftesbury; proceeds to Westminster School for Destitute.
'Not written with any view to publication...the spontaneous utterances of an overflowing heart.' (Preface)
34 poems, each based on a biblical text. Emphasis on redemptive power of Jesus.
155. Union Hymn Book for Scholars, The [1852]
Sunday School Union, xvi, unnumbered pp.
Thematic arrangement. 'For devotional use in Sunday Schools, and ...well adapted to day schools and private families.... The present may be considered a new work; one hundred and ten hymns which appeared unsuitable for children having been omitted, and one hundred and fifty six others inserted, including several composed by Mr Montgomery, and other friends, expressly for this work...a few ... have been introduced which are chiefly intended to be committed to memory.' (Address)
Date of accession to BL.
156. [VILLERS, W. ed.], A Selection of Psalms and Hymns, for the Use of the Congregation of the Parish Church, Bromsgrove (1852)
Maund & Palmer, iv, 146, silk.
Editor identified in signature to Preface. Index of first lines.
157. WARING, A.L., Hymns and Meditations (1852)
3rd ed, with considerable additions, W.& F.G. Cash, 84 pp., 1s 6d.
1st ed.: 1850. (also 2nd)
Poems mostly untitled, based on biblical texts. A popular volume, much used by editors of anthologies.
See items 313, 398, 473, 561, 644, 645, 832.
158. WATTS, Isaac, Dr Watts's Divine and Moral Songs (1852)
W.H. Dalton, vi, 72, paper, 6d.
A new and revised edition, edited by Rev James G.C. Fussell.
'In some respects ... his hymns are open to serious objection. They teach the child to use expressions with regard to others, which seem to encourage censoriousness... . The alterations are almost entirely confined to such expressions.' (Preface)

159. -----, Divine and Moral Songs for Children (1852)
 Hall, 1s, 1s 6d.
Illustrated by anecdotes and reflections, by the Reverend Ingram Cobbin.
Copy untraced. Listed in Publishers' Circular.
160. [WHITE, George Cosby], Introits and Hymns, with some Anthems, adapted to the Seasons of the Christian Year (1852)
 J. Masters, xx, 230, appendix 4 pp.
Index of first lines. See items 565, 725. Attribution: BL catalogue
161. [WOODFORD, J.R.], Psalms and Hymns Arranged for the Sundays and Holy-days of the Church of England (Bristol, 1852)
 Daniel Vickery, [ix], 112, [1s].
Preface initialled J.R.W. Attribution: Elias catalogue.
Listed at 1s in Masters 1857 catalogue.
Hymns 'from ancient sources, with the exception of those by Bishop Ken, and a few by Bishop Heber.' (Preface)
Copy in Elias collection.

1853

162. ALEXANDER, C.F., Narrative Hymns for Village Schools (1853)
Masters, pages unnumbered, paper.
20 hymns. Major episodes in life of Christ. Preface quotes:
'A verse may catch a wandering soul that flies
 Profounder tracts...'
See items 481, 651.
163. B, R., and M, C.F.S., Psalms and Hymns for Public Worship
(1853)
2nd ed., Seeley, unnumbered pp.
290 hymns. Index of texts; index for liturgical year; table
of first lines and authors; index of seasons and occasions.
Prepared for Trinity Church, Upper Chelsea.
164. BARRETT, J.C., Psalms and Hymns Selected and Arranged
According to the Services of the Church of England (1853)
Wertheim, xvi, 7-447, xviii, 2s.
490 hymns in seven sections: Church Year; Festivals;
Occasional services; Times and seasons; Charitable
Occasions; Miscellaneous; Public Worship.
Index to first lines; index of texts; index of subjects;
errata.
165. Book of Psalms, Translated into English Verse, by a Layman
(1853)
Rivington, xi, 264, 3s 6d.
Index to first lines. Translator sees the psalms as adapted to
'all the vicissitudes of life...the varied and most secret
operations of the human soul.' (Preface)
Revised and enlarged 2nd edition: 1858, published as
A Metrical Translation of the Psalms. See item 614.
166. BROWNE, Jane Euphemia, The Dove on the Cross, and Other Thoughts
in Verse (1853)
4th ed., Nisbet, viii, 136, 2s 6d.
1st ed.: 1849; 3rd ed.: 1850. See items 326, 488, 660.
Popular collection, extracts much anthologised.
167. BURGESS, H., The Repentance of Nineveh (1853)
Blackader, ix, 214, 6 ads., 10s.
A Metrical Homily on the Mission of Jonah. By Ephraim
Syrus, also an exhortation to Repentance and some smaller
pieces. Translated from the original Syriac with an
Introduction and Notes. (Title page)
Original author one of the Church fathers.

168. Catholic Hymns [1853]

New ed., rev. and enl., Burns & Lambert, 64 pp., paper.
Arranged in order for the chief festivals, the feasts of saints, etc., throughout the year. With illustration.
 (Title page)

No date of publication, but Wiseman's imprimatur dated May 2, 1853. Advertisement to Second Edition (this one?):
'the addition of a select number of fresh hymns that have become popular and well known... the production of living Catholic authors, and a large proportion of them are original.'
 Table of contents, with authors. Mostly Caswall.

169. Christian Wreath of Prose Poetry and Art, The (1853)

Religious Tract Society, iv, 252, cloth gilt, 5s.
Mixture of subjects; travel predominant in prose. Verse by Bethune, Mrs Sigourney, Bernard Barton. Copy in CUL.

170. [COLENSO, J.W.], Psalms and Hymns for Use in the Church of England, at Home and in the Colonies (1853)

George Bell, xv, 192, re-bound, 6d, 1s, 1s 6d.
See items 102, 255.

171. Collection of Hymns for Public Worship, A (Cheltenham, 1853)

R. Edwards, unnumbered pp., leather.
450 hymns. Index of first lines; no authors. Thematic arrangement.

172. [COOKE, William and William Denton], The Church Hymnal (1853)

Whitaker, 166 pp., embossed cloth.
See items 104, 335, 416.

173. [COURTAULD, Ellen], Hymns (1853)

[-], viii, 127.
Printed for the Garrett High School. 144 hymns, many well known. See item 754 for attribution of author.

174. COWPER, William, Complete Works (1853)

Vol 1, Bohn, re-bound, 3s 6d.
8 vol. edition, illus., edited by Southey 1853-55.
See item 259.

175. -----, The Poems (Glasgow, 1853)

W.R. McPhun, x, 607, 2 ads., re-bound.
Ed. Rev J.S. Memes.

176. -----, Poetical Works (1853)

T. Nelson, xvi, 464, embossed leather.
See items 106, 338, 671.

177. COXE, A.C., Christian Ballads and Poems (1853)

New ed., Parker, xvi, 254, 2 ads., 3s.
1st.ed.: 1840 (USA); 1st English ed.: 1843; revised 1847.
New Preface was written for the English edition.
Material previously appeared in periodicals. See item 497.

178. DAVIDS, Louisa (ed.), A Sunday School Hymn Book [1853]
J. Snow, unnumbered pages, paper, 3d.
185 hymns. Index of subjects; index of first lines; no authors. Date of BL accession.
179. DAWSON, George, Psalms and Hymns (Birmingham, 1853)
Theobald, 503 pp., 3s 6d.
322 hymns; index to Psalms; index to Hymns (first lines), with authors. Thematic arrangement. Includes Tennyson's 'Ring out, wild bells' (pp.426-7).
180. EDMONSTONE, Sir Archibald, Meditations, in Verse, for the Sundays and Holydays Throughout the Year (1853)
Masters, viii, 104, 1 ad., 2s 6d.
Mostly rhymed quatrains. Overtones of hymns, and influence of Christian Year. See item 590.
181. ELLISON, Seacome, Psalms and Hymns, Selected from Various Authors, Revised and Adapted to the Worship of the True God [1853]
Pearce & Brewer, vi, 570, embossed cloth.
*Date from Preface.
Index of first lines; index of first lines of each verse except first; index of subjects; index of scripture texts; index of authors.
'The Psalms and Hymns by Dr Watts...are inserted in the same order as in his original book, and extend from the first Psalm to the two hundredth and sixty fourth Hymn; after which there are a few of his extra ones...to the two hundredth and seventy third inclusive.' (Preface)
Copy in CUL.*
182. [F, H.], First Series of Hymns and Songs for the Use of Catholic Schools and Families (1853)
Burns & Lambert, complete in three parts, no.1 vi, 39; no.2 viii, 73; no.3 x, 54.
*Each part has list of contents, with authors; first line index in I and III.
'With but few exceptions, the production of living Catholic authors, and a large proportion of them has never before been published.' (Advertisement to No I)
Predominantly Caswall and Faber in I. Varied mix in III.
BL catalogue suggests Henry Formby as editor.*
183. FISK, George, Twelve Aspects of Christ (1853)
Sampson, Low & Son, xi, 265, 2 ads.
'Preparatory to the monthly communion; with original hymns, meditations and prayers.' (Title page)

184. FLESHER, John, The New and Enlarged Hymn Book for the Use of the Primitive Methodists (1853)
Thomas Holliday, xii, 611, embossed cloth.
'Compiled partly from the hymns of numerous popular authors, living and deceased, and partly from those of unknown authors, and enriched with original hymns, and selected ones, altered or re-made.' (Title page)
842 hymns; index to subjects; index of first lines with authors; index of texts. Thematic arrangement.
185. FORD, James, Prayer-Book Rhymes, or the Order for Morning Prayer Explained in Verse (1853)
J. Whitaker, iv, 34, paper.
'Designed for Parochial use, especially among our poorer brethren'. [Notice]
The profits of the sale, if any, to go to erecting the Chapel in the Exeter Diocesan Training College.
See item 593. Appeared in July and August issues of the Churchman's Magazine 1853.
186. [FOSBERY, T.V.], Appendix to Hymns for Public Worship [1853]
SPCK, 93pp., limp cloth.
Hymns 201-301. Index of first lines.
See items 188, 269, 510, 594, 679, 768.
187. -----, Hymns and Poems for the Sick and Suffering (1853)
3rd ed., Rivington, 40, 360 pp., 6s 6d.
2nd ed.: 1850; 7th ed.: 1868. See item 509.
Index of authors, index of first lines.
Preliminary essay and notes to first two editions.
Includes work by Elizabeth Barrett Browning, and three poems from J.E. Browne: The Dove on the Cross.
188. -----, Hymns for Public Worship (1853)
SPCK, 142 pp., limp cloth.
Index of first lines. See items 186, 269, 510, 594, 678, 768.
189. [HALL, W.J.], Psalms and Hymns Adapted to the Services of the Church of England (1853)
Rivington.
See items 109, 271, 514-15, 599, 682.
190. HERBERT, George, Poetical Works (Edinburgh, 1853)
New ed., James Nichol, xxviii, 328, 4 ads.
'With Life, Critical Dissertation and Explanatory Notes by Rev. G. Gilfillan.' (Title page)
191. -----, The Temple and Other Poems (1853)
Washbourne, 2s 6d, 6s.
Copy untraced. Listed in Bent's Monthly Literary Advertiser, 1853.
192. -----, The Works (1853)
G. Routledge, 1, 392, re-bound.
With remarks on his writings and a sketch of his life, by William Jerdan.

193. HORNE, Thomas Hartwell, Manual of Parochial Psalmody, A (1853)
 36th ed., Longman, xx, 195.
 1st ed.: 1829.
'Comprising select portions from the old and new versions of the psalms, together with hymns for the principal festivals of the Church of England. Revised.' (Title page)
 Separate indexes of first lines to psalms and hymns.
194. Hymns and Poems for Little Children (1853)
 2nd ed., Rivington, viii, 102.
 1st ed.: 1837. Translated from the German.
 On moral and religious themes, and the world of nature.
195. Hymns for Sabbath Scholars (Edinburgh, 1853)
 Paton & Ritchie, 16 pp., paper, 1d.
 Includes 'Rock of Ages' and Montgomery's 'Prayer'.
196. Hymns of the Catholic Church, compiled from Various Sources
 (Stratford-upon-Avon, 1853)
 E. Adams, viii, 1-22; 1-96; separate tables 62 pp.
197. IVES, David, The Music of the Cross, or Songs of the Ransomed
 (1853)
 Houlston & Stoneman, xxxvi, 360.
'Designed to celebrate the praises of atoning Love. Especially adapted to the Lord's Supper.' (Title page)
 Index of first lines; index of subjects.
'The book...forms a kind of elucidation of many of the types and prophecies of the Old Testament, and embodies the great doctrine of Christ and him crucified.' (Preface)
198. KELLY, T., Hymns on Various Passages of Scripture (Dublin, 1853)
 7th ed., Simpkin, Marshall, unnumbered pp, 6 ads.
 Index to first lines; index to new hymns; index to subjects.
 1st ed.: 1804. 765 hymns. Large number of 'new' hymns.
199. KEMBLE, Charles, A Selection of Psalms and Hymns, Arranged for the Public Services of the Church of England (1853)
 Simpkin, ii, 512, 1s 6d.
 545 hymns; index to first lines (with authors); index to subjects; index to texts. See items 200, 440.
200. -----, further edition of above ; fifth thousand.
 See items 199, 440.
201. KENT, John, Original Gospel Hymns and Poems (1853)
 9th ed. rev. and corr, Simpkin, , li, 360, embossed paper boards, red. to 3s 6d.
 1st ed.: 1803.
 With the Life of the Author, by his son. Kent died in 1842.
 Index of first lines, 265 hymns, additional poems, scripture index to hymns.

202. LOWNDES, C.C., The Scholar's Hymn Book (1853)
 Groombridge, xii, 131, limp cloth, 1s 6d.
Editor was Second Master of the High School, Carlisle.
'The greatest care has been taken to select such as are at once devout and earnest, and, at the same time, sound in doctrine, chaste in expression and reverent in spirit... the "Scholar's Hymn Book" will be found useful in family and social worship, as well as in schools.' (Preface)
203. LOXLEY, J., Childhood's Daily Offerings and The Breathings of Flowers (1853)
 Wertheim, xviii, 116, 8 ads., cloth gilt, 1s 6d.
Consisting of Hymns and Prayers for the Daily Use of Little Children. In Four Parts. (Title page)
Part I : Prose Prayers
Part II: The Breathings of Flowers, with music
Part III: Christian Missions
Part IV: Miscellaneous
Includes work by James Montgomery, Ann and Jane Taylor.
204. LUTHER, Martin, The Spiritual Songs of Martin Luther (1853)
 Hamilton, xxii, 190, 2 ads., 3s 6d.
From the German, by John Hunt.
Index to first lines, index to Scripture passages and list of subscribers.
205. [LYGON, F., Earl Beauchamp], Hymns for the Use of the Church of S. Mary Madresfield, Diocese of Worcester (Oxford, 1853)
 W. Baxter, viii, 55.
Attribution: BL catalogue.
Church calendar sequence. Index of first lines, no authors.
58 hymns, mostly popular.
206. [MACDUFF, J.R.], Altar Stones (1853)
 J. Nisbet, 65 pp., paper, 6d, 8d.
Attribution: Nisbet catalogue.
Biblical extracts preface each poem.
'simple in thought and diction, so as to be suitable for plain readers... principally designed for private use.' (Preface)
207. MILTON, John, Milton's Paradise Lost (1853)
 B. Fellowes, vii, 584.
'With notes, critical and explanatory, selected and original for the use of schools, by the Rev.J.R. Major.' (Title page)
Copy in CUL.
208. -----, Poetical Works, Complete (1853)
 Ingram, Cooke and Co., iv, 163, paper, 1s 6d.
The Universal Library - Poetry, Vol.1. No.14, part v.
209. -----, Poetical Works, with Life (1853)
 T. Nelson, xxx, 523, embossed cloth.
Illustrated. Copy in CUL. See item 616.

210. -----, Poetical Works, with Life, Critical Dissertation and Explanatory Notes, by the Rev. George Gilfillan (1853)
2 vols., James Nichol, xxviii, 333; xxxvi, 328 pp.
211. Moments of Consolation - Poems (1853)
Saunders & Otley, ii, 80, limp cloth, 2s.
*On illness, infant pauper's funeral, 'Jesus Wept';
'Light in the Cloud' - reflections on an hour-glass and
Bible by a minister struck by paralysis.*
212. MONTGOMERY, James, The Christian Psalmist (1853)
New ed, Collins, 2s.
See items 43, 534.
213. -----, Original Hymns for Public Private and Social Devotion (1853)
Longman, xx, 390, 1 ad., 5s 6d.
*Index of first lines; index to subjects. 355 hymns.
Published to establish accurate texts, after 'borrowers of
his effusions' adapted them: 'It has been on this account,
that the individual ... has emphatically entitled his
lucubrations - 'Original Hymns, by James Montgomery.' (Preface)*
214. MONTGOMERY, Robert, The Christian Life: A Manual of Sacred Verse (1853)
?6th ed, Rivington, 4s.
Copy of this ed. untraced. See items 45, 369.
215. MOTE, E., Hymns of Praise (1853)
3rd ed., Nichols, xii, 749, re-bound, 3s.
1st ed.: 1838.
*'A New selection of Gospel Hymns, Combining All the
Excellencies of Our Spiritual Poets, with many originals,
for the Use of All Spiritual Worshippers.' (Title page)
Index of first lines; 922 hymns; subject arrangement,
authors given.
'Calculated to exalt the mind in worship of the great
Eternal, and to inspire the soul...with heavenly bliss...
to cheer and revive.' (Preface)*
216. [NEALE, J.M.], The Words of the Hymnal Noted (1853)
Novello, 115 pp.
105 hymns. See items 135, 376-78.
217. NEWMAN, John H., Lyra Apostolica (1853)
10th ed., Mozley, x, 250, 3s 6d.
1st ed.: 1836; 13th ed.: 1864. *Index of first lines. See item 539.*

218. NOEL, Baptist Wriothsley, A Selection of Psalms and Hymns, Adapted Chiefly for Congregational and Social Worship (1853)
B.W. Gardiner, xiv, unnumbered pp.
679 hymns + doxologies. Alphabetical arrangement by first line; index of subjects; index of texts.
Appendix of 39 hymns on Baptism, with index of subjects.
'Having ventured to alter good hymns when the language used towards the Redeemer seemed to be too familiar...when passages of scripture were misapplied, when the sense was obscure, or when the composition was extremely careless, I have therefore not added the names of the authors.' (Preface)
219. [PAGET, Francis Edward], Psalms, Hymns, Anthems and Introits (Lichfield, 1853)
Thomas George Lomax, 89 pp.
Author's name in MS addition to Julian's copy. Prefatory Notice signed F.E.P.
220. PEACE, William, The Christian Conflict: The Tractarian Heresy, the Spiritual Leprosy of the Nineteenth Century (1853)
2nd ed., enl., W.E. Painter, 217 pp.
See item 141.
221. Pilgrim, The: or Truth and Beauty in Catholic Lands (1853)
Burns & Lambert, viii, 253, 4 ads., 1s.
'The object of this little work is to describe the progress of conviction, and then the gradual reception of Catholic teaching in the mind of a Protestant... Any profits ...are devoted to a work of charity under the direction of the Sisters of Mercy, Dighton St, Bristol.'
(Preface) Blank verse; in three parts. Main character is female.
222. PORTER, S.T., Selection of Hymns, A, Chiefly Watts's for Use in Public Christian Worship (Glasgow, 1853)
-, [iv] 620.
Indexes of texts, subjects, first lines, appendix.
'Nearly three-fourths of Watts' Psalms and Hymns are here retained.' (Preface)
223. Psalms, Hymns and Passages of Scripture, for Christian Worship, Used at Leeds (1853)
Partridge, unnumbered pp., leather, 6s.
Versions of psalms predominantly by Watts. Thematic arrangement of hymns (over 600). Compiled by the Congregational ministers of Leeds.
224. RAFFLES, Thomas, Hymns, Selected, and Alphabetically Arranged for Public Worship and Private Devotion (Liverpool, 1853)
Pearce and Brewer, viii, 436.
Index of subjects.
'My object...has not been to supersede the use of Dr Watts's Book, but to furnish a Supplement to it...I trust they will be found to breathe a truly evangelical and devotional spirit.' (Preface)

225. Rosebud, The: A Christian Gift to the Young (1853)
 Religious Tract Society, 250 pp., cloth gilt, 4s.
'Choice flowers of poetry have been culled from many gardens, and entwined in a simple wreath, not merely to please the fancy, but to teach in an agreeable and attractive way some lessons of truth and duty.' ('Finis')
 Illustrated.
226. RUSSELL, Joshua, Christian Sabbath, The Way of Life and Other Poems (1853)
 Houlston & Stoneman, iv, 232, quarter leather, 3s 6d.
Title poem against working on Sabbath; several on biblical subjects, predominantly religious verse. See item 810.
227. Sacred Gems, Ancient and Modern (Edinburgh, 1853)
 John Greig, xi, 226, 8s.
*Index of first lines with authors.
 Decorative border designs on each page in different colours.
 'Though certainly meant to attract, it is not less designed to profit.'* (Preface)
 Modern work includes Bonar, Barton, Montgomery, Keble.
 Copy in CUL.
228. Scripture Scenes in Rhyme for Children (Dublin, 1853)
 Samuel B. Oldham, 43, 2 ads., 6d.
Includes 'The Ark', 'Gideon', 'Ruth', 'David and Jonathan'.
 Copy in CUL.
229. Selection of Hymns Used in Trinity Church, Lower Gardiner Street
 (Dublin, [1853])
 W. Curry & Co., 124 pp.
119 hymns, mostly popular; no authors.
230. Song of Moses and the Lamb, to be Used by the Society of Christian Israelites (Gravesend, 1853)
 W. Deane, 192 pp., cloth gilt.
*176 hymns; interestingly differs from most other collections. Some with music chants ('Song of Solomon').
 Index of first lines; index of subjects. See item 636.*
231. Song of Solomon, The, Translated into English Verse (1853)
 Rivingtons, xiv, 29, 1 ad., paper.
In quatrain verse. See item 615 for re-written version.
232. [STOKES, Miss], Hymns for Invalids, or Spiritual Songs for the Season of Sickness [1853]
 Religious Tract Society, xii, 380, 4 ads., embossed paper boards, 2s 6d.
*Attribution and date: RTS archive - minute books.
 Subject grouping; index of first lines, with authors. Uses work from The Dove on the Cross [J.E. Browne].*

233. [T, H.], One Hundred and Fifty Hymns for Public and Family Worship (Cork, 1853)
 New ed., Religious Tract Book Society, xx, 129, leather.
1st ed.: 1834. See items 393, 720.
Index of first lines, index of metres. 150 hymns, no authors, no apparent order. Initials on Preface.
234. THOLUCK, A., Hours of Christian Devotion (1853)
 J. Nisbet, xxxi, 256.
Translated from the German. Preface by Rev. Horatius Bonar. Prose and verse. See item 557.
235. THRUPP, J.F., Psalms and Hymns for Public Worship (Cambridge, 1853)
 Macmillan, x, 248, 12, limp cloth, 1s 4d, 2s.
Editor Vicar of Barrington, Cambridgeshire.
Subject arrangement. 236 hymns; index to psalms, index to hymns, bibliographic references, table of psalms and hymns, index of first lines, with authors.
236. TUPPER, Martin F., Ballads for the Times, etc. (1853)
 4th ed., Hall, Virtue & Co., viii, 480, 2 ads., quarter leather, 3s.
Includes American Lyrics, Geraldine, A Modern Pyramid, Hactenus, A Thousand Lines, and other poems. See item 80.
237. -----, Proverbial Philosophy (1853)
 15th ed., Hatchard, viii, 514, 36 pp publisher's list, re-bound.
See items 82, 153, 312, 471, 558-59, 827.
238. [WALLIS, James], Christian Praise, being a Selection of Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs for the Disciples of the Lord Jesus Christ (1853)
 new [2nd] ed., Hall, Virtue & Co., xxvi, 310.
Index of first lines; 62 psalms, 49 hymns, 397 spiritual songs. Psalms presented as prefiguring Christ; hymns on Christ and His Glory; songs about the Creator and the Gospel. Preface dated Nottingham in 3rd ed. See item 643.
239. WARING, Catherine M., Annuals and Perennials, or Seed-Time and Harvest (1853)
 J. Masters, xii, 68, embossed cloth.
Dedicated to her children, for whom the pieces were written in 1849, 'one on each Sunday'. (Preface)
Illustrated by T.R. Macquoid.
240. WEBSTER, Thomas, Psalms and Hymns, Selected for Families, Schools and Congregations (1853)
 22nd ed., Seeleys, xii, 212, 1s.
See item 86.

1854

241. ADAMS, H.G., A Cyclopaedia of Sacred Poetical Quotations; consisting of Choice Passages from the Sacred Poetry of All Ages, Countries, etc. (1854)
Groombridge, xvi, 725, re-bound, 6s 6d.
First published in numbers at 6d each; alphabetical arrangement by subjects. Very brief extracts, close printed. Unsectarian; work by E.B. Browning, F. Hemans, Barton, Heber, Keble, Montgomery, Wordsworth, Tennyson. Index of authors; index of subjects.
242. [ALEXANDER, Ann], Gleanings from Pious Authors, Comprising The Wheatsheaf, Fruits and Flowers, Garden, and Shrubby (Ipswich, 1854)
[J.M. Burton & Co, printer], 436 pp., calf and gilt.
With a brief notice of the former publication of these volumes by James Montgomery. 1st ed.: 4 vols, 1845. Fine edition for private circulation. Verse and prose. Editorial attribution: BL catalogue.
243. A[ALEXANDER], C.F., Poems on Subjects in the Old Testament: Part 1 - Genesis - Exodus (1854)
Masters, vi, 66, paper, 6d, 1s.
*2nd ed.: 1871. Part II: 1857 (see item 482)
'A collection of short poems for young persons from twelve, to fifteen, or sixteen years of age, which might in some measure improve their taste while they increased their love of Scripture.' (Preface) In two sections: 'Creation' to 'Mount Sinai'; 'The Ark a Type' to 'Death of David'.*
244. B, E., Sunday Afternoon (1854)
S. Bagster & Sons, xi, 402 and 139, cloth gilt, 8s 6d.
'Questions, Pictures and Poems upon the Old Testament Scriptures for the Use of Parents and Teachers Being "Scriptural Truths in Verse", 2nd.ed.: enlarged.' (Title page) 51 new poems, with questions. Question pp. separately numbered. 'The poems are not paraphrases of Scripture, but lessons on it.' (Preface)
245. Baptized, The, or Christian Seasons (Edinburgh, 1854)
R. Lendrum, 40 pp., paper, 6d, 9d.
The profits to go to an episcopal school. Presented as linked narrative sequence, starting with Easter.
246. BICKERSTETH, E. H., Ezekiel: A Seatonian Prize Poem (Cambridge, 1854)
Bell, 16 pp., paper, 1s.
Blank verse; quotes Christian Year in footnote, p.4.
247. BORTHWICK, J., and S. Findlater (trans.), Hymns from the Land of Luther (1854)
W.P. Kennedy, vi, 72.
Translated from the German. 2nd series: 1855; New [4th] series: 1862. See items 323, 843.

248. BURNS, James D., The Vision of Prophecy and Other Poems (Edinburgh, 1854)
Johnstone & Hunter, viii, 9-313, re-bound, 6s.
Title poem surveys God's prophecy of a Redeemer, and moves to final triumph of righteousness; 16 line stanza. Other poems on biblical material; hymns and meditations, miscellaneous.
249. CHARLTON, William Henry, Sonnets Sacred and Miscellaneous, and Other Poems (1854)
F.W. Calder, xii, 465.
List of subscribers. Contents include sonnet sequences on Ruth, the Deluge, Jonah; also Lord's Prayer.
250. Children's Hymn-Book, The (1854)
Nelson, cloth, 9d, 302 hymns; paper, 1d, 50 hymns; 0.5d, 25 hymns.
251. Christian Seasons (1854)
Rivington, xviii, 130, 3s 6d.
Blank verse reflections, on church seasons.
252. Christian Week, The: A Manual of Devotion for Schools and Families (1854)
J. Masters, 63 pp., paper.
Mixture of liturgy, metrical psalms, hymns and collects.
253. Church Hymn-Book, Arranged According to the Services of the United Church of England and Ireland (Belfast, 1854)
T. McIlroy, viii, 224.
Copy examined: 1858. See item 586.
254. CHURTON, Edward, The Book of Psalms in English Verse, and in Measures Suited for Sacred Music (Oxford, 1854)
J.H. Parker, xxxii, 468, embossed cloth, 7s 6d.
'It aims to be a Metaphrase rather than a Paraphrase.'
(Preface) *Index of first lines; notes respecting tunes.*
255. [COLENSO, J.W.], Psalms and Hymns for Use in the Church of England, at Home and in the Colonies (1854)
George Bell, iv, 192 [ii], 6d - 1s 6d.
Re-issue of first edition - see items 102, 170.
256. Collection of Hymns and Anthems, A... for the Use of the Stockport Sunday School (Stockport, 1854)
5th ed., E.H. King, ii, 478, re-bound.
Index to first lines; thematic; no authors, extracts from Handel's Oratorios.

257. [COTTERILL, T], A Selection of Psalms and Hymns for Public Worship (1854)
 41st ed., Rivington, 236 pp., re-bound, 1s, 1s 6d, 2s.
 4th ed.: 1814. See item 753.
 146 hymns, with doxologies and blessings; appendix ed.
 J.W. Brooks added to 2nd ed., 1848: contains complete index of subjects and first lines to whole volume. Hymns continuously numbered.
 Attribution: advertisement in this edition.
258. Countess of Huntingdon's Connection Hymn-Book, The (1854)
 Knight & Son, xxiv, 548.
 ed. B.S. Hollis et al.
 Thematic arrangement. Index of first lines, with authors; index of subjects; index of scripture. Much Watts.
259. COWPER, William, Complete Works (1854)
 8 vols., Bohn, vol.2 xvi, 470; v.3. xv, 464; v.4. xxii, 471; v.5. xxiii, 418; v.6. [vi] 434; v.7. xxvii, 492; v.8. x, 398, re-bound, 3s 6d each.
 With a life of the author by the editor, Robert Southey. Illustrated. See item 174.
260. -----, Poems [1854]
 13th ed., Oliver and Boyd, 514 pp.
 To which is prefixed a memoir of the author by John McDiarmid. (Title page) Date of accession to BL.
261. -----, Poetical Works, vols 1-III (1854)
 Parker, viii, 282; iv, 260; vi, 277, 2s 6d each.
 Edited by Robert Bell; in series *The Annotated Edition of the English Poets*.
262. -----, Poetical Works (Edinburgh, 1854)
 2 vols., James Nichol, v.1: xxx, 416; v.2: xxviii, 428.
 'With Life, Critical Dissertation and Explanatory Notes, by George Gilfillan.' (Title page)
263. CROLY, George, Psalms and Hymns for Public Worship (1854)
 John Kendrick, xii, 79.
 Original work. Indexes of first lines of psalms, hymns, and subjects from Scripture. Copy in Elias collection.
264. DRANSFIELD, W., Psalms, Hymns and Short Poetical Pieces, Intended Chiefly for Private Reading (1854)
 Aylott, xvi, 158, 1 ad., 2s 6d.
 Index of subjects; table of first lines.
 'The pieces seem to have come of themselves, without seeking, without effort, without study.' (Preface)
265. E, A.L.O., Glimpses of the Unseen (Edinburgh, [1854])
 Gall and Inglis, iv, 108, cloth gilt.
 Concerned with death and after-life; series of poems on 'Women of Holy Writ'. Pseudonym of Charlotte M. Tucker.

266. [ELLIOTT, Charlotte], The Invalid's Hymn Book (Dublin, 1854)
 6th ed., Simpkin, Marshall, xxxvi, 288, 2s 6d.
 12th thousand, revised, corrected and enlarged. (34 hymns added.) Index of first lines.
 See item 346. 200 hymns; 112 by Charlotte Elliott. Elliott took over editorship from Kiernan.
267. FEARN, Joseph, Hymns for the Sundays and Holydays in the Year (1854)
 J. Hughes, vi, 130, 3s.
 Reprinted from the Church of England Magazine.
'the Author disclaims all originality in the plan of the work, the design being the same as that adapted by the Poet of 'The Christian Year'; he has, however, carefully avoided taking the same subjects for his hymns.' (Preface)
268. FOLLEN, Eliza Lee, Lark and the Linnet: Hymns, Songs and Fables (1854)
 1st English ed., Addey, viii, 87, 8 ads., cloth gilt, 2s 6d.
 In two parts: *The Lark - Hymns and Sacred Songs*
The Linnet - Songs and Fables.
269. [FOSBERY, T.V.] (ed.), Hymns for Public Worship (1854)
 2nd ed., SPCK, 142 pp.
 See items 188, 510, 594, 678, 768.
270. FRANKS, J.C., Christian Psalmody (1854)
 Simpkin, xx, 395, re-bound, 2s 6d.
 1st ed.: 1833; edition examined, 1843 (9th thousand).
 Comprising the Book of Psalms, arranged in suitable portions, and congregational hymns.
 Index of subjects, table of scriptures; no authors.
'The Compiler...entertains the hope of a favourable reception, from the increasing taste for religious poetry which is now prevalent.' (Advertisement)
271. [HALL, W.J.], Psalms and Hymns, Adapted to the Services of the Church of England (1854)
 Rivington, 1s.
 32mo vol. See items 109, 189, 514-15, 599, 682.
272. HERBERT, George, The Temple: Sacred Poems and Private Ejaculations (1854)
 T. Nelson, vi, 216, 1s 3d.
 Copy in CUL.
273. -----, The Works of George Herbert in Prose and Verse (1854)
 Routledge, xxxvi, 466, 2 ads, 5s.
 ed. R.A. Wilmott, in Routledge's series of British Poets.
 Editor claims it to be the first edition with Introduction and notes. Originally published in uniform monthly volumes. Illustrated.

274. HOOGHT, Vander, The Songs and Small Poems of the Holy Scriptures, also the Lamentations of Jeremiah (1854)
Hatchard, [ii], 52, limp cloth, 5s.
'New and literal translation from the Hebrew text of Vander Hooght, 1705.' (Title page)
'Object...to present them in a form as nearly as possible resembling their originals...taking the English "Authorised Version" as a general guide.' (Preface) Copy in CUL.
275. HOW, William Walsham, and Morell, T.B., Psalms and Hymns (1854)
Whittaker, unnumbered pp., re-bound.
'A great proportion of the Hymns are well known and long approved.' (Preface) Index of first lines, and source of hymns.
276. Hymns for the Confraternity of the Holy Family, Jesus, Mary, and Joseph [1854]
Burns and Lambert, 32 pp., limp cloth.
Published for the Redemption Fathers. Date of imprimatur.
277. Hymns for the Use of Sunday Schools (Nottingham, 1854)
19th ed., Nottingham S.S.U., [xiv], 240, leather.
Index of first lines; authors identified; thematic arrangement.
'Teaching by hymns is, perhaps, the best mode of conveying and impressing divine truths on the youthful mind.' (Preface)
278. Hymns for the Year [1854]
New ed., Lambert & Co., unnumbered pp., re-bound.
251 hymns. Index of first lines, classification of subjects.
Principally from the work of Faber and Caswall; Catholic.
279. Hymns: Selected for the Use of Sunday Schools (Bridgend, 1854)
W. Leyshon, 95 pp., paper.
Index of first lines; thematic arrangement.
280. Hymns Selected for the Use of the Wesleyan Sunday School, Sherborne (Sherborne, 1854)
E.M. Kingdon, unnumbered pp., limp cloth.
73 hymns, 8 chants, etc.
Index of first lines; thematic arrangement.
281. IRONS, William J. (trans.), Hymn for Advent: 'Dies Irae' [1854]
Masters, 4 pp., 6d; words separately: 3s 6d per 100 (broadsheet).
With music by Henry E. Havergal.
282. JUDKINS, T.J., Church and Home Psalmody (1854)
8th ed., Hatchard & Son, xiv, 401; iv, 404.
9th ed.: 1862 (Longman).
Comprising I. The Spirit of the Psalter. II. The Collects in Verse. III. Hymns Suggested by the Gospels for the Days Throughout the Year. IV. Original Hymns.
Index first lines. Part IV pages separately numbered.
Copy in Elias collection.

283. KEBLE, John, Lyra Innocentium (1854)
 5th ed., Parker, J.H. & J., 3s 6d, 5s.
Copy not located. Listed in Publishers' Circular for 1854.
See items 30 (same edition?), 786.
284. Little Christian's Sunday Alphabet, The (1854)
 7th ed., Masters, unnumbered pp., paper, 4d.
 1st ed.: ?1849. *By a Lady.*
'In my own nursery they have contributed to render the Sabbath a day of delight.' (Preface)
 1849 edition examined.
285. Little Library, The (1854)
 Religious Tract Society, each vol. 8 pp., paper.
 28 mini-tracts for children, presented in a boxed set, designed as a volume. Poem on back of each paper cover.
286. [LOWE, Richard T.], Hymns for the Christian Seasons
 (Gainsburgh, 1854)
Copy not located. Annotation in Julian's copy (see below) gives 1854 as first edition. See items 287, 699.
287. -----, Hymns for the Christian Seasons
 (Gainsburgh, 1854)
 2nd ed. enl., W. Caldicott, 151 pp., embossed cloth.
 185 hymns and 6 psalms. Index of first lines; no authors. Church year arrangement. *See items 286, 699.*
288. LUDLOW, W. Henry, The Hebrew's Daughter (1854)
 Simpkin, 60, 4 ads., 2s 6d.
'A Fragment of a Jewish Tradition, in Five cantos.' (Title page) *'Derived ... from the record of an old Jewish family.'* (Preface)
289. LUTHER, Martin, Spiritual Songs (Chester, 1854)
 Hatchard, xxviii, 92, 3s 6d.
Translated by R. Massie; translator's preface, Luther's preface; index of first lines.
290. MACKAY, Mrs [Margaret], 'Thoughts Redeemed'; or Lays of Leisure Hours [1854]
 William P. Kennedy, viii, 197, 2 ads., cloth gilt.
Date and author's Christian name from Preface. Listed thus in Sedgwick.
'Some of them may be acceptable in the chambers of sickness and sorrow.' (Preface) *Emphasis on death as entry to eternal life, through Christ.*
291. MILTON, John, Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained (Edinburgh, 1854)
 T. Nelson, 468 pp.
With explanatory notes by Rev J. Edmondston. (Title page)
See items 365-66.

292. MONTGOMERY, Robert, Christian Poetry, for School and Family Use (1854)
 Dean & Son, xii, 180, cloth gilt, 2s 6d.
Selected by Edward Farr : 'suitable for Sunday Reading and Recitation.' (Title page)
'It is universally felt, that the truths which poetry imparts to the youthful mind, are of the utmost value, and that the memory retains them permanently.' (Preface)
293. -----, The Poetical Works of Robert Montgomery, collected and revised by the Author (1854)
 Chapman & Hall, xxii, 645, re-bound, £1.
Poems written between 1828 and 1848.
'The catholic Attributes of the Church...when the author published his early poems, were almost doctrinally ignored and popularly forgot. Hence, between his first and last production, a theological reader will detect expressions and thoughts which attest the power and presence of those Spiritual Influences awakened around him, during the period referred to.' (Preface)
294. MORRIS, Joseph, Favourite Welsh Hymns translated into English (1854)
 W. Spurrell, [ii], 39, paper.
Index of original Welsh first lines; index of translations. Classified according to contents: Jesus; the Soul; the Church; Death; Judgement; Heaven.
295. NEALE, A., Biblical Sketches and Hymns (1854)
 Cash, xii, 509, 10s 6d.
'Written at intervals, and upon Sabbath afternoons...many of the pieces were composed at a very childish age.' (Preface) Much Old Testament based material; a few hymns, variety of verse forms.
296. [NICHOLSON, W.], The Sacred Garland, or The Christian's Daily Delight (1854)
 New ed., Milner & Sowerby, iv, 360, re-bound, 5s - 12s.
 1st ed. (1837) examined, published by Hamilton, Adams.
'Upwards of 100,000 copies of this book in smaller form have been sold.' (*Publishers' Circular*, 1854, 254.)
 Brief biblical text, plus illustrative prose and verses for each day of the year. Attribution: preface. Copy in CUL.
297. [OLDKNOW, Joseph], Hymns for the Service of the Church, Arranged According to the Seasons and Holy-Days of the Christian Year (1854)
 2nd thousand, J. Masters, 231 pp.
 1st ed.: 1850; Julian lists 2nd ed. with Appendix in 1858 - not traced. 163 hymns; no authors. Attribution: Julian, Sedgwick.
298. OXENHAM, Henry Nutcombe, The Sentence of Kaires and Other Poems (Oxford, 1854)
 T. & G. Shrimpton, xii, 200.
'A volume which is literary, and not devotional.' (Preface)
 Includes translations of hymns from Roman breviary.

299. Popular Sacred Songs and Revival Hymns (1854)
 2nd ed. enl. J. Tregaskis, 48 pp., paper.
For the use of Sunday schools, by the Superintendent of Carharrack Sunday School.
'to supply something lively and cheerful to be sung between the usual lessons, and so prevent the possibility of the school exercises becoming tedious or irksome.' (Preface)
300. PRATT, Josiah, Hymn-Book for the Closet and the Drawing-Room, collected from various authors (1854)
 Seeley, unnumbered pp., 2s, 2s 6d.
 750 hymns. *'For the use of Christians in their different relations, circumstances and states of mind.'* (Title page)
 Index of first lines, with authors; thematic arrangement.
 Much Wesley and Watts.
301. RICHINGS, Benjamin, Flowers of Sacred Poetry (1854)
 Wertheim, xvi, 320, 1s 6d.
'From various authors; with some original compositions.' (Title page). Index of first lines; contents alphabetical by subject. A re-edited version of an earlier publication, *'The Souvenir'*: *'the new work has had a rapid and extensive circulation'* (Editor to Reader).
 Includes work by Cowper, Moore, Stodart, Ken, Lyte, Mrs Hemans, Barton, Mrs Sigourney, Montgomery and Edmeston.
302. Sacred Poetry (1854)
 John Crockford, xv, 236, re-bound, 3s 6d.
'Selected by the editors of Clerical Journal and Church Chronicle.' (Title page)
 Alphabetical index of authors as contents. Material drawn from seventeenth century to contemporary. Latter includes James and Robert Montgomery and Tennyson (extract from *'Morte d'Arthur'*).
 Brief comments offered on some items. Copy in CUL.
303. Selection of Hymns for the Sabbath School and the Family, A (Edinburgh, [1854])
 Paton & Ritchie, ii, 32, paper.
'Hymns of standard excellence, and long acknowledged as favourites among Christians, but they seem of late to have disappeared...from the collections in use in Sabbath schools and juvenile classes.' (Preface)
 Includes *'Rock of Ages'*, *'O God our help'*, *'Brightest and best'*, *'Hark the herald'*, *'Lo, he comes'*. Date from Preface.
304. Selection of Psalms and Hymns, from Various Authors, Chiefly Designed for Public Worship, for Social Family and Private Use (Ipswich, 1854)
 6th ed., Haddock, 268 pp.
 1st ed.: 1840.
 For the churches of St.Clement, St.Helen, St.Peter, Ipswich
 Indexes of subjects, first lines, texts.
 Copy in Elias collection.

305. SHERMAN, James, Psalms and Hymns Original and Selected, for the Use of Blackheath Congregational Church (Blackheath, 1854)
W. Burnside, [xxii] 485.
Preface dated 1841. Indexes of first lines, scripture texts, subjects and miscellaneous hymns. Authors named at head of hymns; much Watts. Copy in Elias collection.
306. SLADE, J., Selection of Psalms and Hymns for Public Worship (1854)
3rd ed., Rivington, vi, 204, re-bound.
Index of first lines; index of subjects. Copy in CUL.
307. SMEDLEY, Edward Arthur, Dramatic Poems on Scriptural Subjects (1854)
Bosworth, viii, 190, 1 ad., 5s.
Old Testament : 'Eli' and 'Zedekiah'.
308. SMYTTAN, George Hunt, Florum Sacra, in Simple Verse (1854)
J.H. Parker, vi, 74, 2s 6d.
Published in aid of the funds for building a school-house in the parish of Hawksworth. Prefatory poem, 'Flowers' by Keble. See item 465.
309. Songs of Praise for Christian Worship (1854)
Ward & Co., 193 pp., leather.
Index of first lines; no authors.
310. TAYLOR, Ann and Jane, Hymns for Infant Minds (1854)
42nd ed., Jackson and Walford, x, 11-144, leather.
See items 78, 152, 470, 638, 824.
311. [TOWNSEND, G.J.], Flowers from the Garden of the Church, or the Collects of the Church of England Versified (Oxford, 1854)
Parker, x, 42, paper, 1s.
'By a Durham Theological Student' (Title page). Attribution: CUL catalogue. Single 8 line verse for each collect. Dedicated to Keble, Hook and Townsend. Copy in CUL.
312. TUPPER, Martin F., Proverbial Philosophy (1854)
Hatchard, x, 366, embossed cloth gilt.
Illustrated by Tenniel, Birket Foster, etc. See items 82, 153, 237, 471, 558-59, 827. Copy in CUL.
313. WARING, Anna Letitia, Hymns and Meditations (1854)
4th ed., with considerable additions, Cash, 83 pp., 1s 6d.
See items 157, 398, 473, 561, 644-45, 832.
314. WATTS, Isaac, Dr Watts Divine and Moral Songs for Children [1854]
-, unnumbered pp., paper.
Minute format. Date of accession to BL.
315. -----, Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs (1854)
Ward, 1s 6d.
Copy untraced. See item 84.

316. WESLEY, Charles, A Poetical Version of Nearly the Whole of the Psalms of David (1854)
 Heylin, xvi, 328, 4s 6d.
Edited, with a brief introduction, by Henry Fish.
Editor found MS version in Wesley's hand, sold by a college library unaware of its authorship; unpublished till this date. (See editor's introduction.)
317. Weston Hymn Book for Children (Sheffield, [1854])
 Algar Bros., 188 pp., re-bound.
Date from inscription in BL copy. Bears MS addition to title page: by Miss Harrison of Weston Park, Sheffield.
Thematic arrangement. Index of first lines, subjects.
318. WHITTIER, John G., A Sabbath Scene: A Sketch of Slavery in Verse (1854)
 Low, 29 pp., re-bound, 1s.
Short anti-slavery piece; each left hand page illustrated.

1855

319. [A, C.E.], Grace and Glory, Delineated in a Pillar of the Temple of God (1855)
 Seeley, Jackson & Halliday, 32 pp., re-bound.
'The profits (if any) to be devoted to a missionary cause.'
 (Title page)
 Volume in memory of a cleric who passed 'the evening of his days' in the writer's village. Copy in CUL. Attribution: CU catalogue.
320. A, R., Christ's Sermon on the Mount, in Verse (1855)
 Wertheim & Macintosh, 32 pp., re-bound.
With analytical divisions and explanatory notes. In six parts. 'In many passages, the author has chosen to re-iterate, rather than paraphrase, the Sacred Text...causing His own words to be more frequently and extensively read.' (Preface) Copy in CUL.
321. ALEXANDER, Stuart, Life's Phantoms and Other Poems, Chiefly Devotional and Paraphractical [1855]
 William Collins, vi, 186, 2 ads.
Date from prefatory Advertisement; also BL accession date. 'They prominently exhibit the only antidote to family bereavement - the assurance of a blessed immortality through a risen Saviour.' (Advertisement) Poems on Rebecca, Joseph, Barach, etc.
322. BONER, Charles, Cain (1855)
 Chapman & Hall, 87 pp, 2 ads., 3s 6d.
Verse drama, mostly blank verse. Follows Genesis narrative.
323. BORTHWICK, J. and S. Findlater (trans.), Hymns from the Land of Luther (Edinburgh, 1855)
 W.P. Kennedy, 1st and 2nd series, 1s.
Re-issue: see item 247, 843.
324. BOYD, Zacharie, Four Poems from 'Zion's Flowers' (Glasgow, 1855)
 George Richardson, 55, xli, 157, re-bound, 10s.
'Christian poems for Spiritual Edification.' (Title page)
 400 copies printed from MS version held by Glasgow University Library; Boyd was a 17th century poet. Edited by Gabriel Neil: preliminary pages are Introduction. Poems in rhymed couplets; dialogue form. On 'Historie of Jonah'; 'Joseph Tempted to Adultery'; 'David and Goliah' [sic]; 'Dinah Ravished by Shechem'.
325. BROWN, J.B. (ed.), Psalms and Spiritual Songs (1855)
 Ward, 48 pp., limp cloth, 1s.
For the Use of the Congregation of Claylands Chapel, Kennington. (Title page)
326. [BROWNE, J.E.], The Dove on the Cross, and Other Thoughts in Verse (1855)
 New ed., Nisbet, 2s 6d.
Copy not traced. Listed in Publishers' Circular. See items 166, 488, 660.

327. [BUBIER, G.B., ed], Hymns and Sacred Songs, for Sunday Schools and Social Worship (Manchester, 1855)
Fletcher & Tubbs, 256 pp., leather, 8d, 1s 4d.
In two parts: I. *Hymns and Songs for Childhood and Youth*
II. *Hymns for General Purposes, especially for Elder Scholars, Teachers, etc.*
318 hymns, index of first lines with authors, index of subjects. 'Undertaken chiefly at the desire of the Teachers belonging to the Sunday School at Cavendish Street Chapel, Manchester, and Hope Chapel, Salford. (Preface) Preface signed B. Attribution: BL catalogue, Julian. See item 411.
328. BUCHAN, C.F., Abba, Father: Being Prayers and Hymns for Young Persons (Edinburgh, 1855)
Paton & Ritchie, 58 pp., paper.
Hymns taken from Watts' 'Divine Songs'.
329. -----, The Harp of Zion, being a Selection of Hymns Principally Designed for the Use of Sabbath Schools (Edinburgh, [1855]),
3rd ed., Paton & Ritchie, iv, 122, paper.
Accession date to BL. 2nd ed.: 1850. See item 412.
Index of first lines.
330. Christian at Home, The: Reflections in Prose and Verse (1855)
Ward & Co., 92 pp., paper, 1s.
'It appears to consist partly of original, and partly of selected pieces ... The selected pieces, as the Lord's Prayer, are usually very good, - those we take to be original are but poor. Altogether, though the work is evidently well meant, we think a shilling, in these hard times, might be better used than in its purchase.' [*The Church*, May 1855, 134.] No authors; half verse.
331. Christian Mother's Hymn Book, The (1855)
Nisbet, vi, 256.
238 hymns; index of first lines; no authors.
'Part I being more suitable for young children; Part II for those more advanced in years and intelligence...
Whilst by far the greater number of the hymns are such as present Scripture truths in a simple and pleasing style, such as are the language of faith and experience, are not excluded.' (Preface)
332. Church Hymn Book, A : Compiled by Three Clergymen (1855)
Wertheim & Macintosh, vi, 173.
Index of first lines; no authors.
'selected from all manner of sources... The Compilers have...endeavoured...to avoid whatever seemed inconsistent with Holy Scripture, or with authorized interpretations of Scripture contained in the Creeds of the Universal Church and other Formularies of the Church of England.' (Preface)

333. CLAY, Edmund, Psalms and Hymns from Some of the Most Generally Approved Books of Psalmody (1855)
3rd ed., Charles & Edwin Layton, 179 pp., 1s 6d.
See item 101. Copy in Elias collection.
334. Congregational Hymn Book, The: Psalms and Hymns for Divine Worship [1855]
Hodder & Stoughton, [iv] 478.
Date mentioned opposite title page as date of committee set up to collect material for hymn book.
Indexes of first lines, first lines of every verse except the first, texts, subjects. Copy in Elias collection.
335. [COOKE, William and William Denton], The Church Hymnal (1855)
G. Bell, iv, 173.
See items 104, 172, 416.
336. COWPER, William, The Complete Poetical Works [1855]
Gall and Inglis, xxiv, 516, 4 ads., cloth gilt, 3s 6d-6s 6d.
'With Life and Critical Notice of his Writings.' (Title page)
Date of accession to BL.
337. -----, Poems (1855)
Griffin, 3s 6d, 1, 423.
With essay by James Montgomery. See item 669.
338. -----, Poems (1855)
T. Nelson, 2 vols, xv, 224; 225-428.
See items 106, 176, 671.
339. -----, Poetical Works (1855)
Routledge, 3s 6d, xlviii, 630, 8 pp catalogue, cloth gilt.
Edited by R.A. Willmott; illustrated by Birket Foster.
See item 589.
340. -----, Poetical Works [1855]
Henry Lea, 519 pp.
'With a Memoir of the author, illustrated with a beautiful portrait and four other splendid engravings on steel.' (Title page)
Date of accession to BL.
341. [CUNDALL, Joseph, ed.], Sabbath Bells Chimed by the Poets (1855)
Bell & Daldy, 112 pp., embossed cloth gilt, £1.1s.
Illustrated Birket Foster. Another edition 1871.
Writers include George Herbert, Grahame, Longfellow, Mrs Hemans, Mrs Sigourney, Cowper, Edmeston, Barton. See item 499.

342. DAVIS, Thomas, Devotional Verse for a Month, and other Brief Pieces (1855)
Hamilton, ii, 192, 3s.
Index of first lines. Brief Pieces include poems on major Christian Festivals.
'In a lower position, with the Kebles, the Warings, and others, whose sweet and true-hearted words have cheered and invigorated many a downcast spirit, we do unhesitatingly think he ought to stand.' [*The Church*, January 1856, 22]
See items 673, 757.
343. DENNY, Edward, Hymns and Poems (1855)
2nd ed., Nisbet, xlviii, 104, 1 ad., leather, 3s.
Millennial Hymns, with an introduction; miscellaneous hymns; miscellaneous poems.
344. Easy Hymns and Sacred Songs for Young Children, No.1 [c.1855]
Burns & Lambert, vi, 7-32, paper, 9d.
Illustrated. Contents list titles and authors. Dating: BL catalogue. 'Original Catholic poetry, written expressly to suit the capacities of younger children.' (Preface)
345. EDMESTON, James, Sacred Poetry (1855)
New ed., Nisbet, [viii, 245, 2 ads.], 3s 6d.
Copy examined: 1848 edition.
346. [ELLIOTT, Charlotte,] Invalid's Hymn Book (Dublin, 1855)
13th thousand, J. Robertson, xxxvi, 288, 8 ads., 2s 6d.
See item 266.
347. FEARN, Mrs Joseph, Plain Rhymes for Plain People, adapted for Sunday Schools (1855)
Partridge & Oakey, 24 pp., re-bound, 2d.
20 biblical stories from Genesis, Creation to Jacob. Mostly in rhymed quatrains.
348. GREENWELL, N., Church Sunday-School Hymn-Book (1855)
Rivington, 63 pp., paper, 2d.
Index of first lines and subjects; no authors.
349. HARCOURT, William Vernon, Symmetrical Psalmody (1855)
George Bell, xxxix, 252.
'Portions of the psalms and other scriptures, translated into metrical stanzas, with corresponding accents in corresponding verses, for musical use.' (Title page)
Index of first lines.
350. Hymn Book for Sunday Schools and Young People, The (1855)
B.L. Green, unnumbered pp.
'Printed for the teachers of Holland Street Sunday School, Rochdale.' (Title page) *Much 18th century material. Contents in alphabetical order of first lines. 416 hymns, with anthems and choruses. Subject-index, as well as first lines with authors, and table of scriptural passages.*
'Thoroughly evangelical...free from sectarianism.' (Preface)

351. Hymns for Missions [c.1855]
Sixth thousand, Masters, unnumbered pp., paper.
37 hymns; authors include Keble, Faber, Caswall.
Approximate dating in BL catalogue.
352. Hymns for the Service of the Church, or Family Worship (1855)
Bell & Daldy, vi, 200.
193 hymns; index to first lines; no authors. Christian year arrangement.
353. Hymns for the Use of the Congregation of the Lock Chapel, Westbourne Greene (1855)
Sharp & Hale, 215 pp.
Index of first lines with authors, index of subjects.
Predominantly 18th century material. Copy in Elias collection.
354. Hymns for the Year [?1855]
New ed., Burns, Lambert & Oates, unnumbered pp., re-bound.
'A Complete Collection for Schools, Missions and General Use.'
(Title page)
286 hymns; Catholic. Index of first lines, classification of subjects; no authors. Approximate dating in BL catalogue.
355. Hymns in Large Type, Selected for the use of the Sick and Aged (1855)
Nisbet, iv, 51, paper.
40 hymns, index of first lines. Less familiar.
356. JOHNSTONE, John, Specimens of Sacred, Pathetic and Serious Poetry, from Chaucer to the Present Day (Edinburgh, 1855)
New ed., Oliver & Boyd, 450 pp.
'With biographical notices and critical remarks.' (Title page)
1st ed. 1827.
'By adopting extracts from the two most eminent of the religious poets of Scotland, Blair and Grahame,... space has been gained for specimens of the living and recent poets, and also for choice selections from the Female English poets.' (Advertisement)
Includes several extracts from Tennyson's In Memoriam, and work by Mrs Hemans, Elizabeth Barrett [Browning], Joanna Baillie, Mary Howitt, Mrs Sigourney.
357. KEBLE, John, The Christian Year (1855)
47th ed., Parker, J.H. & J.
Copy not located. Listed in Publishers' Circular for 1855.
See items 29, 123, 527, 606, 696, 785..
358. [LEE, F.G.]?, Hymns Used at the Church of S. Leonard Sunningwell and the Chapel of S. Swithun, Kennington (Oxford, 1855)
Morris & Burrough, 32 pp., paper.
35 hymns, Christian year arrangement. Index of first lines as contents; no authors. Attribution: BL catalogue.

359. LYNCH, T.T., The Rivulet: a Contribution to Sacred Song (1855)
Theobald, vi, 160, 4s 6d.
3rd ed.: 1868. Index of first lines, musical index and metrical analysis. 'Suitable for the chamber or the church' (Preface)
A controversial volume, largely because of its claim to the status of hymn collection. See item 443.
360. [MACDUFF, J.R.], Wells of Baca; or Solaces of the Christian Mourner, and Other Thoughts on Bereavement (1855)
4th ed., J. Nisbet, 70 pp, 1 ad., 1s.
Blank verse. Title refers to Psalm lxxxiv, 6. 1st ed.: 1847.
361. [MANNING, H.E.], Dies Consecrati, or a New Christian Year with the Old Poets (1855)
Longman, ii, 322, 2 ads., embossed cloth, 5s.
Dedication signed H.E.M. CUL catalogue identifies as Manning. Alphabetical list of authors whose work is used, with brief biographical detail and comment. In spite of title, poets range from Chaucer to contemporary.
'The similarity between the title of this little work and that of "The Christian Year" will indicate that the idea is not original which led to its compilation.' (Preface)
Copy in CUL.
362. MERCER, William and John Goss, The Church Psalter and Hymn Book (1855)
Jewell and Letchford, ix, 288, embossed cloth.
'Comprising the Psalter, or Psalms of David, pointed for chanting; four hundred metrical hymns and six responses to the Commandments, the whole united to appropriate chants and tunes, for the use of congregations and families.'
(Title page)
Indexes of first lines, tunes and chants. See item 531.
363. MILTON, John, Complete Poetical Works (Edinburgh, [1855])
Gall and Inglis. xx, 491, re-bound.
With life; eight engravings on steel. Date of accession to BL.
364. -----, The First Four Books of Paradise Lost (1855)
Longman, viii, 181, 2 ads.
'With copious notes, classical and critical. For the use of pupil teachers, training colleges, and the higher classes of schools, by C.W. Connon.' (Title page)
365. -----, Paradise Lost (1855)
T. Nelson and Sons, xii, 268, cloth gilt.
Miniature volume in matched set with item 366 below. See also item 291.
366. -----, Paradise Regained (1855)
T. Nelson and Sons, xvii, 201, cloth gilt.
Miniature volume in matched set with item 365 above.
See also item 291.

367. MONSELL, J.S., Parish Musings (1855)
 3rd ed., Rivington, viii, 172, 2s.
1st ed.: 1850; 7th ed.: 1863. Details as for 7th ed; 3rd not traced. See item 619.
368. MONTGOMERY, John, Thoughts on Man, etc. (Edinburgh, 1855)
 New issue, Longman, 3s 6d.
See item 129.
369. MONTGOMERY, Robert, The Christian Life: a Manual of Sacred Verse (1855)
 7th ed., Rivington, viii, 310, 2 ads., embossed cloth, 4s.
See items 45, 214.
370. -----, Omnipresence of the Deity, and Other Poems (1855)
 28th ed., Chapman & Hall, viii, 300, 3 ads., 4s.
'Again revised and corrected.' (Notice)
371. -----, The Sanctuary: a Companion in Verse for the English Prayer-Book (1855)
 Chapman & Hall, xiv, 357, 1 ad., leather, 5s 6d.
Dedicated to the memory of George Herbert.
372. Morning and Evening Portions for Children (1855)
 Tract Association of Society of Friends, 11 pp., re-bound.
Bible verses with verse or two of hymn, for each day of week.
373. MOULTON, Mrs J.B., Bible Poems and Lyrics: from Subjects of the Old Testament Scriptures (Lincoln, 1855)
 Simpkin, xv, 166, 1 ad., 3s 6d.
'The chief end proposed by the Writer of these Poems being to promote individual thought, and enquiry into Scripture narratives.' (Preface)
From the Garden of Eden to the Reprieve of Nineveh.
374. [MOZLEY, Annel], Church Poetry, or Christian Thoughts in Old and Modern Verse (1855)
 4th ed., Mozley, xxii, 266, 2s 6d.
Index of authors and title; index of first lines.
Thematic arrangement.
1st ed.: 1846. Editorial attribution: BL catalogue.
'None but the writings of churchmen have been consulted.'
(Advertisement) Much early material; also Keble and Newman.
See item 536.
375. [MURRAY, F.H.], A Hymnal for Use in the English Church (1855)
 New ed., Mozley, 192 pp.
See item 131.

376. [NEALE, J.M.], The Words of the Hymnal Noted. Complete [1855]
 Novello, 115 pp., limp cloth.
BL copy lacks pages 1 - 4. See items 135, 216, 377-78.
Date of accession to BL.
377. -----, The Words of the Hymnal Noted Complete; with
 Scripture References [1855]
 Novello and J. Masters, 132 pp., re-bound.
*Index I: cross reference numbering; index II: Latin hymns,
 first words; index III: English hymns, first words.*
Date of accession to BL. See items 135, 216, 376, 378.
378. -----, The Words of the Hymnal Noted ?[1855]
 Novello, Part I, 44 pp; Part II, 68 pp., re-bound.
Two parts bound as one in BL copy. Dating: BL catalogue.
See items 135, 216, 376-77.
379. [Packet of 120 Reward Cards] [1855]
 Nelson, 6d.
*Each card prints a single verse from Children's Hymn Book
 and a biblical text. Many cards repeated, sometimes in
 different colour.*
380. PELHAM, J.T., Hymns for Public Worship (1855)
 Wertheim, unnumbered pp., 1s 6d.
354 hymns; index to subjects; index of first lines; no authors.
381. PRIEST, J., Thoughts on Life, and Other Poems (1855)
 Partridge, xii, 115, 4s.
*Defends Sabbath as day of rest for working men;
 anti-Sabbatarian.*
382. Psalms, Hymns and Passages of Scripture, for Christian
 Worship (1855)
 Partridge, Oakey & Co, unnumbered pp.
*1-205: psalms; 206-899: hymns; 900-941: passages of scripture;
 942-949: anthems. Thematic arrangement of hymns; index of first
 lines. Authors given: much 18th century. Copy in CUL.*
383. RYLE, J.C.(ed.), Spiritual Songs for a Month (Ipswich, 1855)
 7th ed.enl., Wertheim, 119 pp., paper, 9d.
1st ed.: 1849. See item 631.
*Being one hundred hymns not to be found in most of the hymn
 books commonly used. (Title page)*
A few authors identified: Bonar, Wesley, Montgomery.
384. [S, C.], The Jewel and the Star (1855)
 William Yapp, 104 pp., embossed cloth gilt.
*Preface initialled. Religious verse, most taking a Latin,
 French or German phrase as title.*
385. Select Hymns, Chiefly Designed for Public Worship (Dublin,
 1855)
 S.B. Oldham, iv, 64, paper.
72 hymns; index of first lines. Date of accession, BL.

386. Selection of Psalms and Hymns, A. Adapted for Public Worship
(Northwich, 1855)
Frances Carnes, 206 pp.
Index of first lines; index of subjects.
Copy in Elias collection.
387. Selection of Psalms and Hymns, as Set to the Organ of
Harbridge Church (1855)
- , unnumbered pages.
No publisher or author; dedicated to Rev.C.H. Maturin,
Rector of Harbridge. MS note in British Library copy:
'parish of Ringwood'. Dated 'Somerley, 1855'. 263 hymns; index
of first lines; list of hymns suitable for festivals.
388. SHIPTON, Anna, Whispers in the Palms: Hymns and Meditations
(1855)
Nisbet, viii, 112, cloth gilt, 2s 6d.
4th ed.: 1872. See item 633.
389. SIMEON, C., Collection of Psalms and Hymns (Cambridge, 1855)
24th ed., T. Dixon, [xviii], 407, [xxv].
Thematic arrangement of hymns; index of first lines. Appendix by
W. Carus, with separate index of first lines. Table of
Scriptures; table of tunes; subject index as contents. Copy in
CUL.
390. Songs of Heaven (Birmingham, [c.1855])
J. Groom, vi, 7-32, paper.
Poems and hymns about heaven. Suggested date: BL catalogue.
391. STENSON, John, The Baptists' Hymn Book (1855)
2nd ed., Houlston & Stoneman, xvi, unnumbered pp., re-bound.
'Being a collection of upwards of eleven hundred hymns, including
nearly two hundred originals harmonising with the scriptures of
truth, in doctrine, ordinances and precepts.' (Title page)
In spite of claim, there are only 1096 hymns. Thematic
arrangement; authors given. Index of first lines and subjects.
Prefatory address in rhymed couplets.
392. Sunbeams for Little Children from the Book of Genesis (1855)
Blackwood, iv, 84, 2s.
Presented in dialogue form: Mamma, Clara and Ellen. Major
narratives from Adam and Eve to Joseph.
393. T, H., (ed.) One Hundred and Fifty Hymns for Public and
Family Worship (Cork, 1855)
Religious Tract and Book Society, xx, 129, leather, [2s].
1st ed.: 1834. Indexes of first lines and metres.
See items 233, 720.
394. TUPPER, Martin L., Lyrics of the Heart and Mind (1855)
Arthur Hall, Virtue & Co., 198, 2 ad, 24 pp. catalogue,
3s 6d.
'A small Christmas present for my friends, in the shape of
the following lyrics.' (Notice) *See below, 395.*

395. -----, new edition of above, as Lyrics (1855)
Arthur Hall, Virtue & Co., viii, 207, 24 pp catalogue.
Some poems omitted, some added. See above, 394.
396. TURNER, Thomas, A Metrical Version of the Book of Psalms (1855)
Rivington, Part I, 32 pp.
Psalms 1 -18.
Unrhymed version, 'because the introduction of rhyme would... have involved a wider departure from the literal meaning of the text.' (Preface) See items 472, 721.
397. VAUGHAN, Charles J., Hymns for the Chapel of Harrow School (1855)
Crossley & Clarke, iv, 175.
Christian year arrangement; popular hymns.
398. WARING, Anna Letitia, Hymns and Meditations (1855)
Fifth ed., W. and F.G. Cash, 93 pp.
See items 157, 313, 473, 561, 644-45, 832.
399. WATTS, Isaac, Twenty-Eight Divine Songs, for the Use of Children (Dublin, [1855])
Samuel B. Oldham, 29 pp., paper.
Date of accession to BL.
400. -----, Watts' Divine and Moral Songs [1855]
Dean & Son, 6d, unnumbered pp., paper.
Brother Sunshine's Series of Coloured Sixpenny Books.
Date of BL accession.
401. -----, Watts' Divine and Moral Songs (Edinburgh, 1855)
T. Nelson, 24 pp., paper.
Date of accession to BL. See item 563.
402. W[EST], J[ohn] R[owland] Hymns, Arranged for the Sundays and Holy-days of the Church of England (1855)
J. Masters, [vi], 108.
100 hymns; no authors. Popular hymns.
403. WINKWORTH, Catherine (trans.), Lyra Germanica (1855)
Longman, xxii, 258, 2 ads., embossed cloth, 5s.
Hymns for Sundays and chief festivals of the Christian Year, translated from the German. Index of first lines. See items 477, 568, 647, 731.
404. WOODROOFFE, Mrs, The First Prayer in Verse (1855)
New ed., Bell & Daldy, 30 pp., re-bound.
On the Lord's Prayer; rhymed couplets. Copy in CUL.

1856

405. Anthems, Psalms and Hymns for the Use of the Temple Church (1856)
William Blackwood and Son, xiv, 321.
Index to first lines with authors. Copy in Elias collection.
406. BALFOUR, Willoughby W., A Collection of Psalms and Hymns, Original and Selected, Designed for Use in Public and in Family Worship [1856]
Houlston & Stoneman, vii, 114 then unnumbered.
Date from CUL catalogue. Copy in CUL.
'My principle aim, has been to adapt to the service of our Church, the most spirited Versions of the Psalms, that I could discover, with such Hymns, as seemed to me to combine true poetry with religious feeling.' (Preface)
217 hymns. Index of first lines; index of subjects in hymns.
407. [BENSON, E. and R.M.], Lays of Memory, Sacred and Social, by a Mother and a Son (1856)
Hurst & Blackett, xiv, 304.
'The profits arising...devoted to the building of a church in a poor district.' (Title page)
Authorship attributions in Sedgwick and BL catalogue. Part I by mother (E.), Part II by son. Latter predominantly religious verse: Songs of Eastertide, The Days of Advent, Scripture Subjects; prefaced by biblical texts.
408. BISHOP, James, The Happy Sunday Book of Painted Pictures, Scriptural Engravings - with Verses to Each - for Good Children [1856]
Dean, 3s 6d, unnumbered pp., coloured paper boards.
Crude colouring; alternate pages blank. Mostly Old Testament material. Undated. Copy in CUL - accession date 1860. Listed in 1856 Publishers' Circular.
409. BOUCHIER, Barton, Solace in Sickness and Sorrow; or a Collection of Hymns for the Afflicted (1856)
J.F. Shaw, xxviii, 354, 2s 6d.
317 hymns; authors given. Table of first lines; table of contents (index form).
'Another book of sacred song...is one of the few demands, of which the supply is never adequate to the need.' (Preface)
410. Bristol Temperance Hymn Book, The [1856]
6th thousand, Houlston & Stoneman, unnumbered pp., paper.
1st ed.: 1841. Preface dated 1856; described as 'a condensed and cheaper form.' Thus hymns numbered to 200, but actually fewer in this selection. Some authors given.
411. [BUBIER, G.B. and MACDONALD, G.], Hymns and Sacred Songs for Sunday Schools and Social Worship (Manchester, 1856)
2nd ed., Fletcher & Tubb, 256 pp., leather.
See item 327. Index of first lines; index of authors.

412. BUCHAN, C.F., The Harp of Zion, Being a Selection of Hymns Principally Designed for the Use of Sabbath Schools [1856]
5th ed., Paton and Ritchie, iv, 122.
See item 329. Date of accession to BL. Index of first lines.
413. CALVERT, W., Pneuma, or the Wandering Soul: A Parable in Rhyme and Outline (1856)
Longman, 98 pp, 1 ad., embossed cloth gilt, 10s 6d.
Illustrated, designed and etched by the author.
An allegorical narrative in five parts. Pneuma (spirit), daughter of Aeon (eternity) King of Ouran (heaven), is placed with her imbecile, spell-ridden foster-brother, Sarx (Flesh), under the guardianship of Lady Ecclesia (Church). She is inveigled away by Phosphor (Lucifer) and rescued by her true brother. She is summoned to her father's court to await the transformation of Sarx.
414. COLLINS, John, The Fall of Man: A Poem (1856)
Longman, xlv, 278, 24 pp Longman's catalogue, 7s 6d.
In Two Parts. Cantos IV and V. (No earlier or later Cantos published.) Design of whole work given in Contents: starts with Creation, moves to Reflections on the Fall, then Knowledge. Published Cantos entitled 'Probation and A Future State' and 'Youth'. Excessively annotated. Writer defends apparent irregularity and freedom of verse in Preface. Describes the work as 'purely didactic in nature'.
415. CONDER, Josiah, Hymns of Praise, Prayer and Devout Meditation (1856)
J. Snow, xviii, 249, 3s 6d.
Posthumously published collection: 'the dates of its various compositions reach from the threshold of manhood to the precincts of old age.' (Preface, by E.R.C.) Includes some pieces written specially for the Congregational Hymn Book. Biblical texts as starting point.
416. [COOKE, William and William Denton], The Church Hymnal (1856)
Bell and Daldy, iv, 173.
See items 104, 172, 335.
417. COUSENS, Frances Upcher, Pleasant Sundays [1856]
Dean, 2 vols, Series the First, viii, 348; Series the Second, 390, 36 pp list of Dean's Educational and School publications, re-bound, 3s 6d each.
A Companion to Happy Sundays. Preface dated 1856, BL accession date February 1857.
Each Sunday has prose piece and a poem: many of the latter are hymns, some written by F.U.C. herself.

418. CROSSMAN, Francis G., Sacred Melodies, with Short Reflections (1856)
 Hope, vi, 127, 4 pp. catalogue of new works, 2s 6d.
Poem followed by prose reflection. Biblical text for most.
Poems mostly in quatrain verse.
'The Author does not presume to offer the contents of this little volume to the public as poetry of a higher class than that which is usually written for the young.' (Preface)
419. [DEWHURST, Jane], The Sabbath and Other Poems (1856)
 George Barclay, iv, 49 and list of subscribers, re-bound.
Authorship attributed in Sedgwick; MS letter in BL copy from author. See items 420, 841.
'The writer... has not had a liberal education, and for what is written has had recourse to the Bible alone.' (Preface)
Long title poem to show why Sabbath was ordained.
420. -----, second edition of above. (1856)
- 421, ELLIOTT, Charlotte, Hours of Sorrow, Cheered and Comforted (1856)
 5th ed., L. Booth, vi, 178.
 1st ed.: 1836. 7th ed.: 1869; new ed.: 1877.
422. HARRISSON, Mrs [A.M.], Gethsemane, and Other Poems [1856]
 Hamilton, Adams & Co., iv, 144, re-bound.
Dated in Preface. Work entitled 'Pensive Meditations' in running heads. Title poem unobtrusive.
'These poems were not originally written with a view to publication; but were several of them composed at intervals, in a sick room. They are offered to the public in their simple and original state, with a full consciousness of their weakness and unworthiness.' (Preface) Copy in CUL.
423. HART, Joseph, Hymns, with Memoir, Experiences, etc. (1856)
 New ed., Palmer, 2s.
This edition untraced. See items 19, 518.
424. HATHAWAY, Timothy, Gospel Melodies; or, Short Chronological Portraits of Our Saviour in Verse (1856)
 Wertheim & Macintosh, viii, 125.
'Chiefly intended for the rising generation.' (Preface)
From Incarnation to Ascension.
425. HEATON, William, Poems and Hymns (1856)
 Kent, iii, 112, re-bound, 1s 6d.
By blind author, aiming to 'promote the ever-blessed and adorable Redeemer's Kingdom, by telling to others what Jesus has done for his soul.' (Preface)
52 hymns and other poems, many on death. Long piece 'On Deism'; rhymed version of Lord's Prayer.
426. HERBERT, George, Poetical Works (1856)
 James Nisbet, 256 pp., embossed cloth gilt, 18s.
Illustrated by Birket Foster etc.

427. -----, The Temple (1856)
G. Bell, embossed cloth gilt, 5s.
428. HOWARD, Edward, The Genesis: A Poem (1856)
Longman, xvi, 240, 1 ad., 6s.
Introduction by George Gilfillan, about epic form and its decline. A blank verse narrative/reflective piece in 7 books. Author's comment quoted in Introduction:
'This poem is called "The Genesis" because "the creation" seems only to include the formation and arrangement of the material universe; whereas my design is to set forth the grand results of this revelation of God in their ultimate spiritual issues.'
429. Hymns (Edinburgh, 1856)
T.C. Jack, 16 pp., paper.
13 hymns, mostly 18th century.
430. Hymns (1856)
Tract Assoc. of Soc. of Friends, 12 pp., paper, 6d per dozen.
Tract 71. 16 hymns, predominance of Watts.
431. Hymns (Oxford, 1856)
W. Baxter, 32 pp., re-bound.
Arranged according to the Christian year.
BL copy inscribed 'The Rev F.G. Lee from the Compiler'.
432. Hymns and Ballads for Christian Children (1856)
Masters, 16 pp., paper.
By the author of 'White Raiment' etc. (Title page)
Deceptive title: only two poems, 'Easter Eve' and 'The Dead Linnet'.
433. Hymns, Following the Course of the Christian Seasons [1856]
2nd ed., Mozley, 66 pp., paper.
'With Prayers for the Use of Sunday Schools' (Title page)
Preface dated May, 1855. BL catalogue gives [1856]. Familiar material; index of first lines.
434. Hymns for Children on the Lord's Prayer, our Duty Towards God and Scripture History (1856)
6th ed., J. & C. Mozley, 52 pp., re-bound.
435. Hymns for Children, Selected with a View to being Learnt by Heart (Oxford, 1856)
J.H. & J. Parker, 45 pp., paper.
Index of first words and index of authors. Hymns given titles, or biblical text as title. Much 18th century, also Keble, Williams.
436. Hymns for Sunday School Children and Teachers (Crediton, 1856)
J.V. Luxmoore, 116 pp., limp cloth.
Index of first lines. No authors. Less familiar material.

437. Hymns Used in Bethesda Chapel (Co. Waterford, 1856)
Industrial Printing School, embossed leather.
Pages numbered as hymns (150); index of first lines. No authors. Biblical texts at head of each hymn.
438. JACKSON, J.W., The Seer of Sinai and Other Poems (1856)
William Tweedie, 92 pp., re-bound.
Title poem in blank verse, about Moses. Copy in CUL.
439. [KELTY, M.A.], Waters of Comfort (Cambridge, 1856)
Macmillan & Co., ix, 190, 16 pp list of Macmillan's publications, 4s.
'A small volume of devotional poetry of a practical character, addressed to the thoughtful and the suffering. By the author of "Visiting my Relations".' (Title page)
'It is as a practical and not as a poetical writer that I come forward on the present occasion. It is true that these effusions are embodied in the form of verse; but this is chiefly...because the nature of the thoughts and feelings they express, is of a kind which seems intuitively to develop itself in the language of poetry.' (Preface)
Variety of verse forms; all have biblical text.
Attribution: BL catalogue.
440. KEMBLE, Charles, A Selection of Psalms and Hymns Arranged for the Public Services of the Church of England (1856)
82nd thousand, D. Batten, ii, 498, 4 ads.
List of Churches and Chapels where the book is in use. 2 or 3 versions given of each psalm. See items 199, 200.
441. LACY, Fanny Eliza, The Labyrinth and the Path; a Sacred Poem (1856)
C. & F. Bell, 21 pp., re-bound.
'By the author of "The Visitor in Grey" &c. (Title page)
Rhymed couplets and quatrain verse. Copy in CUL.
442. LONG, Lady Catherine, Heavenly Thoughts for Evening Hours (1856)
Nisbet, xxxv, 309, 4 ads., cloth gilt, 4s 6d.
Selections in prose and verse, with passages from Scripture. Calendar arrangement, each day with bible text and either poem or prose passage. Work by Keble, Mrs Hemans, Montgomery, C.F. Alexander, R.C. Trench.
443. LYNCH, Thomas T., The Rivulet (1856)
2nd ed., Longman, vi, 142, 1 ad., cloth gilt, 2s 6d.
See item 359. Preface rewritten, asserting that 'The Rivulet is not issued as in itself a sufficient book of song for the Christian churches... The metres are far too various for ordinary congregations.'
444. MARTINEAU, James, Hymns for the Christian Church and Home (1856)
12th ed., Longman, re-bound, 1s 4d-3s 6d.
See items 35, 127, 610, 701.

445. Metrical Collects from the Book of Common Prayer (1856)
 Seeley, Jackson & Halliday, 137 pp., re-bound.
Prints text from BCP first. Copy in CUL.
446. Metrical Meditations on the Sacred Book of Canticles (1856)
 2nd ed., Wertheim & Macintosh, 183 pp., re-bound, 3s.
Blank verse. By chapters, with sections on individual verses. Copy in CUL.
447. MICHELL, Nicholas, Poetry of Creation (1856)
 Chapman & Hall, iv, 194, 2 ads., 3s.
*In seven parts, mostly octosyllabic couplets.
 'Our object...is not so much to contemplate the Creation during its progress to perfection, as to survey the finished features of the earth, and to view Nature in her manifold aspects of grandeur... The daily discoveries of science, in the fields of astronomy and geology, only go to harmonise, and not clash, with the brief but sublime Biblical narrative.' (Preface)*
448. MILTON, John, Paradise Lost (Halifax, 1856)
 Milner and Sowerby, xiv, 239, re-bound.
'To which is prefixed the life of the author together with Dr Channing's essay on the poetical genius of Milton.'
(Title page) See item 703.
449. MORGAN, Aaron Augustus, The Book of Solomon, Called Ecclesiastes (1856)
 Thomas Bosworth, xi, 72 and list of subscribers, embossed cloth, 21s.
*The Preacher metrically paraphrased, and accompanied with an analysis of the argument: being a retranslation of the original Hebrew, according to the interpretation of the Rabbinic comments of Mendelssohn, the critic Jones of Preston and other annotators, the subject newly arranged, with analytical headings to the sections. (Title page)
 In rhymed couplets. Illustrated by George Thomas.
 Copy in CUL.*
450. [MORGAN, Arthur Middlemore], The Ascension and Other Poems (1856)
 J. Masters, 18 pp.
*Authorship attribution in Masters' catalogue of 1857 and BL catalogue. Title poem in blank verse, with refrain lines:
 'Oh, He was with us for a little while,
 Again a little while and He is gone.'*
451. NEALE, John Mason, Judith: a Seatonian Poem (Cambridge, 1856)
 Deighton Bell, 19 pp., paper, 1s.

452. New Selection of Hymns for the Use of Baptist Congregations, The (1856)
 J. Haddon, xxxiii, 647, embossed cloth.
'Enlarged by the addition of such of Dr. Watts's Psalms and Hymns as are most highly esteemed and most generally used in public worship.' (Title page) 963 hymns.
 Produced in the move to one hymn book rather than two.
 Table of first lines with authors; thematic arrangement.
 Index of subjects; scriptural index.
453. NEWTON, John and William Cowper, Olney Hymns [1856]
 J. Groom, xvi, 336.
 Index of first lines; biblical and subject tables.
 1st ed.: 1779. Date of accession to BL. Catalogue suggests ?[1855].
454. P, C.E., Nursery and School Hymns (1856)
 Seeley, 72 pp., paper 6d.
 81 hymns (not numbered). Titles given.
 Index of first lines as contents.
455. [PALMER, Ebenezer], Tendrils in Verse (1856)
 E. Palmer & Son, viii, 270, 5s.
'By one who hath "Tasted that the Lord is Gracious".' (Title page) Preliminary note states that 'most of the pieces...were written during a somewhat lengthened connection with a periodical publication, for its poetical department...Different signatures were appended, but generally that of REZENEB.' Attribution: BL catalogue.
 First seven poems outline biblical narrative. Many on biblical subjects, and the theme of death.
456. RAWES, Henry A., The Lost Sheep, and Other Poems (1856)
 Richardson & Son, 112 pp., cloth gilt.
 Catholic collection, dedicated to Henry Edward Manning.
 Title poem is blank verse narrative of spiritual encounter with Christ.
457. READE, John Edmund, Man in Paradise: A Poem in Six Books (1856)
 Longman, vii, 404, 24 pp catalogue of new works, 5s.
 Blank verse narrative; creation, Adam and Eve.
458. Religious Tracts in Verse (Birmingham, [?1856])
 J. Groom, 6d per hundred.
 A collection of single sheet broadsides, mostly anonymous, some by J.T., one by Tupper, one by A.L.W[aring].
 Acquired by BL in February 1856.
459. Revival Hymn Book, The, for All Churches, No.1 [1856]
 R. Bulman, 24 pp., paper, 1d.
 Abounds in choruses. No.2 same format, given altered title, 'for all Methodists'. Discontinued. Date: BL catalogue.
 BL copy, 4th ed., 5000. No date. Inside cover quotes reviews from various periodicals, including Primitive Methodist Magazine and Christian Weekly News.

460. RUSSELL, Thomas, A Selection of Hymns for Congregational Worship, Missionary Services, Domestic and Private Use (1856)
 New and rev.ed., Jackson & Walford, 40, 435, 97 pp.
 'An Appendix to Dr Watts' *Psalms and Hymns*.' (Title page)
 24th ed.: 1843. Last 97 pages, additional hymns.
Index of subjects, index of first lines with authors.
461. Select Hymns for Young Persons (Carmarthen, [1856])
 W. Spurrell, 40 pp., paper.
 'Suitable for Sunday Schools.' (Title page)
 47 hymns. No date, BL accession: 1856.
462. Select Portions of Psalms and Hymns, taken from Various Collections, and Adapted to Public Worship (Welch-pool, 1856)
 6th ed., Robert Owen, xiv, 163.
Index to subjects. Copy in Elias collection.
463. Selection of Psalms, Hymns and Anthems, A, Adapted to the Services and Principal Festivals of the Church of England (1856)
 Groombridge, [218 pp., leather, 1s 6d].
Copy examined: new edition enlarged, 1863, published by W. Claye in Stockport. Appendix dated 1855.
464. [SMITH, Isaac Gregory], A Hymn-book for the Services of the Church, and for Private Reading (Oxford, 1856)
 J.H. & J. Parker, vi, 140, limp cloth.
Preface dated Tedstone, Delamere 1855.
Index of first lines
Part 1: Christian year arrangement; Part II for private reading.
465. SMYTTAN, George Hunt, Florum Sacra (1856)
 2nd ed., J.H. and J. Parker, 54, 16 pp catalogue, limp cloth.
 'In a cheaper form... a few additional pieces have been added.' (Preface) See item 308.
466. Songs of the Soul (1856)
 W. White, xxvii, 609, embossed cloth, 6s.
 'Derived from the writings of British, Continental and Transatlantic authors, ancient and modern. Collected and arranged by the compilers of "Truths Illustrated by Great Authors".' (Title page) See item 845.
Loosely alphabetical arrangement, by first letter of first line. Authors given. List of authors and dates at the end. Wide range of material, from Michelangelo in translation to Longfellow.
467. STARLING, James K., Seventy-five Original Hymns for Sunday School Teachers and Union Meetings (1856)
 B.L. Green, 80 pp., limp cloth.
 75 hymns; alphabetical arrangement by first line.
Emphasis on teaching.

468. Sunday School Litany and Hymn Book, A. (Birmingham, [1856])
T. Ragg, 44 pp., paper, 2d.
35 hymns. No date; BL accession date: 1856.
469. [T, E.M.], Passion Week (1856)
2nd ed. enl., Bell & Daldy, xviii, 169, 4 ads.
1st ed.: 1855? (Untraced)
'A Collection of Poetical Pieces on Subjects Suited to the Holy Season.' (Half-title page)
Dedicated to Sara Coleridge. Contents listed with authors.
Editorship identified in 1857 edition. See item 556.
Copy in Elias collection.
470. TAYLOR, Ann and Jane, Hymns for Infant Minds (1856)
43rd ed., Jackson and Walford, x, 11-144, 2 ads., 1s 6d.
See items 78, 152, 310, 638, 824.
471. TUPPER, M.F., Proverbial Philosophy (1856)
25th ed., Hatchard, 386 pp., 5s.
See items 82, 153, 237, 312, 558-59, 827.
472. TURNER, Thomas, A Metrical Version of the Book of Psalms (1856)
Rivingtons, Part II and III, 1s each.
See items 396, 721. Part 2: 19-44; part 3: 45-79.
473. WARING, Anna Letitia, Hymns and Meditations (1856)
Sixth ed., W. and F.G. Cash, 93 pp., quarter leather.
See items 157, 313, 398, 561, 644-45, 832.
474. WATTS, Isaac, Divine and Moral Songs for Children [1856]
Routledge, 96 pp., 1s.
Illustrated. Date of BL accession.
475. WESLEY, C. et al, The Bards of Epworth, or Poetic Gems from the Wesley Cabinet (1856)
Heylin, v, 11-263, 3s 6d.
'That some such collection as the present has not before now been given to the world is indeed surprising. The following pieces, like precious gems imbedded in the earth, have been unknown, except to a few, in various publications.'
(Preface)
Work by Samuel Wesley senior, Samuel Wesley junior, Charles and John Wesley, and Miss Mehetabel Wesley (Mrs Wright).
476. [WIGRAM, G.V.], A Few Hymns and Some Spiritual Songs (1856)
Groombridge, xii, 272, re-bound.
'Selected 1856, for the little flock.' (Title page)
Contents presented as index of first lines. 340 hymns; no authors. Much unfamiliar material.
See items 728-29.
477. WINKWORTH, Catherine (trans.), Lyra Germanica (1856)
2nd ed., Longman, xxii, 258, 2 ads., embossed cloth, 5s.
See items 403, 477, 568, 647, 731.

478. WITHER, George, Hymns and Songs of the Church (1856)
J.R. Smith, lii, 304, 8 pp musical settings by Gibbons,
re-bound.
*With an introduction by Edward Farr; in series 'Library of
Old Authors.'* 1st ed.: 1622-3.

1857

479. ADAMS, H.G., New Testament Verses (1857)
Partridge, 64 pp., cloth gilt, 2s 6d.
With illustrations. Dedicated 'To my little daughter Florence': volume directed at younger reader. All poems start with biblical text. Includes 8 poem sequence on the Lord's Prayer.
480. [ALEXANDER, C.F.], Hymns for Little Children (1857)
14th ed., J. Masters, 72 pp., re-bound, 6d, 1s, 1s 6d.
See items 89, 571.
481. -----, Narrative Hymns for Village Schools (1857)
3rd ed., J. Masters, 28 pp, 4 ads., re-bound, 6d.
See items 162, 651.
482. -----, Poems on Subjects in the Old Testament
Part 2 (1857)
J. Masters, 70 pp., paper, 6d, 1s, 3s 6d.
See item 243.
483. Angel's Visit, The; a Poem (1857)
J. Heaton & Son, 40 pp.
Introduction and four chapters. Relates sample activities of angel about its duties: comforting the bereaved, helping the penitent, chastising the faithless, strengthening the dying. Moralising conclusion.
484. AVELING, Henry, Poetic Hours and Musing Moments (1857)
Hatchard, viii, 191, cloth gilt, 5s.
Miscellaneous collection, about one third religious verse.
485. BEARD, John Reilly (ed), Sabbath Leisure; or Religious Recreations in Prose and Verse (1857)
Whitfield, [viii], 345, 8 pp catalogue of Unitarian Library, 7s 6d.
'Suitable for reading in the intervals of public worship. By several members of the Unitarian Church.' (Title page) Offers 'a kind of middle position between the formality and rigour of specific religious writings, and the lightness and generality of ordinary works of the imagination.'
(Advertisement) *See item 738.*
486. BONAR, Horatius, Hymns of Faith and Hope (1857)
Nisbet, viii, 256, embossed cloth, 5s.
8th ed.: 1862. 2nd series 1861, 1864, 1872, 1875. 3rd series: 1866, 1869, 1871. See items 487, 580, 655. 'Most of the following pieces have appeared already in different journals, or in other shapes and ways, during the last twelve years...They belong to no church or sect. They are not the expression of one man's or one party's faith and hope: but are meant to speak what may be thought and spoken by all whom [sic] the Church's ancient faith and hope are dear.' (Preface)

487. -----, Hymns of Faith and Hope (1857)
Second edition of above, 486. See also 580, 655.
488. BROWNE, J.E., The Dove on the Cross (1857)
 Nisbet, 2s 6d.
No copy of this edition traced. See items 166, 326, 660.
489. [BURNS, James Drummond], The Evening Hymn: a Collection of Suitable Hymns and Prayers for the Use of Young People at Eventide (1857)
 Nelson, 128 pp., 1s 6d, 2s.
31 original hymns with prayer for each.
490. [BUTLER, H.M.], Hymns for the Chapel of Harrow School (Harrow, 1857)
 2nd ed., Crossley and Clarke, iv, 175.
491. CHAMBERS, John David, Lauda Syon: Ancient Latin Hymns of the English and Other Churches, translated into corresponding metres (1857)
 Part 1, J. Masters, 246 pp, 1 ad., 3s 6d.
*Part II published 1866, with re-issue of Part 1.
 Hymns presented for use at appropriate services.*
492. Children's Hymns for the Nursery and School (1857)
 Nelson, 23 pp., paper, 1s.
*Printed in extra large type, across double spread.
 Alternate pages blank and not numbered. Familiar hymns.*
493. Christian Year Book: a Golden Treasury for the Young (1857)
 Nelson, iv, 367, embossed cloth gilt, 3s 6d.
*Daily readings through the year, with Bible text, prose reflection and poem (often hymn). Includes pieces such as 'Rock of Ages', 'Forth in thy Name'.
 'The author's aim has been to write a book which might be used with pleasure and benefit by intelligent young people, for several years, from the age of eleven to fifteen or sixteen.' (Preface)*
494. [CLYNE, Norval, ed.], Hymnal for Use in the Services of the Church (Aberdeen, 1857)
 D. Wyllie, vi, 157, leather, 1s.
Christian year arrangement; biblical text prefaces each hymn. Table of psalms, index of first lines, no authors.
495. COMPSTON, J., Lancashire Sunday School Songs, containing 114 Valuable and Popular Pieces (Manchester, 1857)
 14th thousand (5th ed.) Cash, 63 pp., paper, 1d.
*Table of first lines runs onto to back cover.
 Preface suggests first edition 1854 - copy not traced.*
496. COWPER, William, Poetical Works (1857)
 John Kendrick, xxxvi, 492, quarter leather.
With a memoir by Charles Whitehead Esq.

497. COXE, Arthur Cleveland, Christian Ballads and Poems (Oxford, 1857)
New ed., J.H. and J. Parker, xv, 261, re-bound, 3s.
See item 177.
498. CRASHAW, R., and QUARLES, F., The Poetical Works of Richard Crashaw and Quarles' Emblems (Edinburgh, 1857)
James Nichol, xvi, 368, 8 ads., embossed cloth, [3s 6d].
With memoir and critical dissertations by Rev. George Gilfillan, in Library Edition of British Poets.
499. CUNDALL, J., Sabbath Bells Chimed by the Poets (1857)
2nd ed., Bell, 10s 6d.
This edition not traced. See item 341.
500. DAMIANI, Peter, Glory of Paradise: A Rhythmical Hymn (1857)
T. Fellowes, x, 9, paper, 1s.
Edited with translation by Herbert Kynaston. Parallel Latin/English text. Original work first collected in Rome in early 17th century.
501. [DARLING, Thomas, ed.], Hymns for the Church of England (1857)
3rd ed., rev. and enl., Longman, unnumbered pp., 1s 4d.
1st ed.: ?1855 (not traced). *See items 672, 756.*
Preface signed in 1860 edition.
112 hymns. Table of hymns for Sundays and Other Holidays; Certain Offices, and Occasions.
Index of first words; table of tunes; no authors.
502. -----, Hymns from the Mountains (1857)
Spottiswoode, unnumbered pp., re-bound.
Written during a month's tour of the South of France.
(Title page)
Dedicated to the congregation of St. Michael's, College Hill, London. 6 hymns, 1 page of notes.
503. DAY, Henry, Sinai: a Poem Written for the Seatonian Prize (1857)
Simpkin, vi, 7-20, paper, 1s.
Blank verse; awarded a runner's-up prize, but disqualified as writer did not hold appropriate Master's degree.
Views Sinai as 'the trial-ground of Israel's faith.'
504. DUNN, Catherine, Hymns from the German (1857)
Hamilton, Adams, 120 pp.
'Translations of a few of these hymns have already appeared in the "Lyra Germanica".' (Translator's note)

505. [EDMONDS, Richard] ed, Hymns for the Principal Festivals of the Church, and for Other Occasions (1857)
 Longman, 206 pp., cloth boards, 1s.
Table of first lines, index of authors, index of subjects.
Hymns not numbered.
'The following hymns accord with the teaching of Church of England, and are arranged after the order of her Prayer Book. Although the Selected Hymns have been introduced chiefly for their devotional and practical tendency, most of them possess considerable literary merit.' (Preface)
Includes work of Cowper, Dodds, Montgomery, Newton, Watts, Wesley.
506. Evergreen, The [1857]
 New ed., Darton, vii, 252, embossed cloth gilt, 3s 6d.
Illustrated. 'The success which has hitherto attended the sale of the 'Evergreen' has induced the publishers to believe, that a superior edition, illustrated by original designs...would be favourably received by the public.'
 (Notice appended to Preface)
See item 13. Copy in CUL; date of accession.
507. FARRE, Gerard, Naaman, the Syrian. A Poem (1857)
 George Cox, 12 pp., paper, 1s.
Narrative in rhyming couplets.
508. [Fifty reward tickets] [1857]
Biblical sentence and four-line verse on each. Some repeated material. No evidence of publisher; date of BL accession.
509. FOSBERY, T.V., Hymns and Poems for the Sick and Suffering (1857)
 4th ed., Rivington, 40, 360, 8 ads., 6s 6d.
See item 187.
510. -----, Psalms and Hymns for Public Worship (1857)
 SPCK, vi, 142.
See items 188, 269, 594, 678, 768.
511. GRAHAM, John, Children's School Penny Hymn Book (1857)
 Routledge, 64 pp., paper, 1d.
'Containing One Hundred and Twenty-two hymns.' (Title page)
Index of first lines; hymns arranged thus alphabetically.
512. GRAHAM, William, Fifty Songs of Zion: or, a New Year's Gift to the Children of God (1857)
 Partridge, 61 pp, 2 ads., paper, 1s.
Irish presbyterian. Biblical texts as titles.
513. GRAHAME, James, The Sabbath, and Other Poems (1857)
 New ed., Nisbet, 123, 1 ad., embossed cloth gilt, 10s 6d.
1st ed.: 1804. Illustrated by Birket Foster.
In addition to title poem, Sabbath Walks, Biblical Pictures, Rural Calendar and Miscellaneous.

514. [HALL, William John], Appendix to Psalms and Hymns Adapted to the Services of the Church of England (Wakefield, 1857)
J. Stanfield, unnumbered pp, 3 ads., paper, 2d, 3d, 6d.
Hymns 304 - 362. See following item, 515.
515. -----, Psalms and Hymns, adapted to the Services of the Church of England (1857)
Rivingtons, vii, 86 (psalms; rest unnumbered), 8d, 1s 3d.
See items 109, 189, 271, 514, 599, 682.
516. HANCOCK, Anne, Sacred Songs (1857)
Wertheim, 36 pp., paper, 6d.
Preface by son. Author a blind paralytic. Copy in CUL.
517. HARLAND, Edward (ed.), A Church Psalter and Hymnal (1857)
Routledge, 1s.
This edition not traced. See item 771.
1865: 309th thousand.
518. HART, Joseph, Hymns (1857)
New ed, Aylott, 1s.
This edition not traced. See items 19, 423.
519. HERBERT, George, The Temple. Sacred Poems and Private Ejaculations (1857)
Bell & Daldy, xxiii, 350.
520. HORTON, Thomas Galland, Gethsemane and other Poems (1857)
Judd & Glass, xvi, 270, 2 ads., 5s.
'This is a purely narrative poem. The object of it is to furnish a continuous account of our Saviour's agony in Gethsemane and his betrayal by Judas, in a picturesque and interesting form.'
'Other poems' include 'Felix', a verse drama, and 'Hebrew Odes', selected from the Old Testament. Version of 'Lord's Prayer' in Miscellaneous. See item 842.
521. Hymn Book for the Use of the Church of S. John the Baptist, Oxford (Oxford, 1857)
J. Vincent, vi, 118, limp cloth.
Index of first words; no authors. Bible texts attached to each hymn. Preface dated Easter 1854. States aim 'to provide a fitting aid and expression to genuine evangelical devotion, and by the use of appropriate "Spiritual Songs", to commemorate and impress the successive events and teaching of the Church's year of grace.' Includes 'only such Hymns as appeared to be in strict accordance with the language and spirit of the Prayer Book.'
522. Hymns and Anthems, as used at S. Matthew's Church, City Road (1857)
J. Masters, viii, 154, 1 ad., limp cloth.
Church year arrangement. No authors. Index of first lines.

523. Hymns and Moral Songs for the School and the Fireside
(Braintree, 1857)
High Garrett, 46 pp., paper.
Includes 'All things bright and beautiful'; 'The stately homes of England'; 'Hark the glad sound'; 'Awake my soul'.
No authors, no index.
524. Hymns for Children (1857)
Tract Assoc. of the Society of Friends, 20 pp., re-bound.
17 hymns; no authors. Several by Watts.
525. Hymns for Private Use, in Large Type (1857)
Benton Seeley, iv, 80, limp cloth, 2s.
Contents alphabetical by first line. 61 hymns, much unfamiliar.
526. Hymns for the Sunday School (1857)
Judd & Glass, unnumbered pp., paper boards.
Thematic arrangement. 212 hymns and 4 doxologies.
Index of first lines.
527. KEBLE, John, The Christian Year (1857)
Illustrated ed., Parker, J.H. & J., 25s.
Copy not located. Listed in Publishers' Circular for 1857.
See items 29, 123, 357, 606, 696, 785.
528. Last Judgement, The: A Poem in Twelve Books (1857)
Longman, 335 pp., embossed cloth, 7s 6d.
New ed.: 1862; 5s. (smaller format). In rhyming couplets.
Copy in CUL.
529. McCOMBIE, W., Beauties of Modern Sacred Poetry (1857)
New ed., Ward and Lock, 3s 6d.
See item 126.
530. MARTIN, James, Biblical Lyre- or Songs of Praise for Worshippers in Zion (1857)
Ward, viii, 9-102, 2s 6d.
Written expressly for chant music. List of subscribers.
531. MERCER, William, and John Goss, The Church Psalter and Hymn Book (1857)
4th ed., Nisbet, xxii, 12-370, 6 ads., 2s 6d, 4s.
See item 362.
532. MILTON, John, Selections from Paradise Lost with Notes
(Edinburgh, 1857)
Oliver & Boyd, 180 pp., re-bound, 1s 6d.
'Especially adapted for use in elementary schools by Robert Demaus.' (Title page) Copy in CUL.

533. MONSELL, J.S.B., 'Spiritual Songs' for the Sundays and Holydays Throughout the Year (1857)
J.W. Parker, viii, 232, 4s 6d.
4th ed.: 1864; enlarged ed. (9th thousand): 1870.
'Their aim is - the highest which the human can propose to itself - to help men along the way to Heaven.' (Advertisement)
Biblical text prefaced to each poem. Index of first lines.
534. MONTGOMERY, James, The Christian Psalmist (1857)
10th ed., Griffin, 2s.
See item 43, 212. This edition not traced; listed in Publishers' Circular thus for January 1857. BL dates copy of 10th edition (bearing no date) [1862].
535. MONTGOMERY, Robert, Lyric Christian Poems on Christianity and the Church (1857)
G. Bell, 2s 6d.
See item 46. Copy not located. Listed in Publishers' Circular.
536. [MOZLEY, Anne], Days and Seasons, or Church Poetry for the Year (1857)
3rd ed., J. & C. Mozley, xiv, 314, 2s 6d.
1st ed.: 1846. Illustrated. Index of first lines.
'The following collection has been formed on the same principles which influenced the selection of its predecessor, Church Poetry [see item 374]- with the difference, that in the present case a larger proportion of the poems is derived from modern and original sources.' (Advertisement)
Arranged according to the seasons of the Church year, with scriptural passages for most pieces.
Index of authors: includes work by Herbert, Wither, Isaac Williams, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Wordsworth.
537. [NELSON, Horatio, 3rd Earl], The Salisbury Hymn Book (1857)
Simpkin, xxxii, 192, paper boards, 9d, 1s 6d.
204 hymns 'from all sources, wherever I have found one of warmth and spirit, calculated to illustrate the Church's teaching during any particular season... In the endeavour to make a Collection worthy, if possible, of the Church of England, I have left myself unshackled by any rules as to the metres or the length of the Hymns.' (Preface)
Arranged on the plan of the Book of Common Prayer. Editor signed preface 'Nelson, Trafalgar, All Saints' Day 1857.'
Index of first lines; no authors.
538. New Metrical Translation of the Book of Psalms, A. [1857]
Samuel Bagster & Sons, xxiv, unnumbered pp, 16 pp catalogue.
Dated from dedication: December, 1857.
'An attempt to preserve, as far as possible, the leading characteristics of the original, in the language of the English Bible.' (Title page) Copy in Elias collection.
539. NEWMAN, J.H., Lyra Apostolica (1857)
New ed., Mozley, 3s 6d.
See item 217. Copy of this edition not located.

540. P, C., Scripture Poems (Oakham, [1857])
Simpkin, iv, 5-120, re-bound, 1s.
Most prefaced by biblical text. Date of accession to BL.
541. Psalms and Hymns, for Public, Social and Private Worship (1857)
B.L. Green, viii, unnumbered pp.
'For the use of the Baptist denomination. The profits will be devoted to widows and orphans of Baptist ministers and missionaries.' (Title page)
1000 hymns; index to first lines. Thematic arrangement.
'The compilers have endeavoured to include in one volume and under a single arrangement, all that is essential to a Hymn Book for the Sanctuary, the Closet, the Domestic Circle, and the Social Gathering.' (Preface)
542. Psalms and Hymns for Public Worship and Private Devotion
(Bradford, 1857)
H.O. Mawson, xxiv, 38, 194.
Dedicated to congregation of St. John's Church, Bradford. Indexes of first lines to Psalms and Hymns. Subject list. Much 18th century material, and items from popular current collections, such as Dove on the Cross, Child's Christian Year, Hymnal Noted, Church Hymn Book, etc.
543. R[OLLS] E[lizabeth] H[arcourt], First Fruits. Poems (1857)
Hurst & Blackett, vi, 108, cloth gilt.
Religious and miscellaneous verse. Published under maiden name; later Mitchell.
544. R[ULE], W[illiam] H[arris], The Wesleyan-Methodist Sunday-School Hymn-Book [1857]
John Mason, 160 pp.
*Editor and date from Preface. 272 hymns, no authors. Thematic arrangement; index of first lines.
'Compiled at the request of the Book Committee of the Wesleyan Conference...it is hoped that all of [the hymns] suitably express devout confession, praise and prayer.'* (Preface)
545. Sabbath Lays, Suggested by Passages in the Church Service
(1857)
Nisbet, viii, 232, 2s 6d.
Christian year arrangement. Varied range of verse forms.
546. [SARGENT, H.W.], The Parochial Hymn Book, Arranged for Congregational Use Throughout the Year (Oxford, 1857)
J. Vincent, vi, 116, re-bound.
Index of first words; no authors. Includes metrical psalms by Keble. Attribution: Julian and BL catalogue.

547. Scripture Parables in Easy Verse for Children with Explanations in Prose [1857]
 5th ed., Dean & Son, 54 pp, 18 pp list of educational and school books published by Dean, paper, 1s 6d.
1st ed.: 1850. 'By the author of "Ruth and Naomi" etc.' (Title page). Gives biblical text, then poem, followed by explanation.
 BL accession date: February 1857.
548. Select Hymns for Sunday Schools (Tavistock, [1857])
 Simpkin, viii, 144, 3d.
 178 hymns. *'Compiled by a Committee of Sabbath School Teachers.'* (Title page) See item 632.
549. Selection of Hymns and Poetry for the Use of Infant and Juvenile Schools and Families (1857)
 6th ed., Groombridge, xvi, 325, 4 ads., 3s.
1st ed.: 1838. 'Prepared at the request of the Committee of the Home and Colonial School Society' (title page)
In five parts: Hymns for Infants; Easy Verse for Infants; Portions of Scripture History; Hymns for the Young; Poetry for the Young. Some authors identified. Much Taylor and Watts. Last section includes work by Wordsworth, Bonar, Longfellow, Cowper and Montgomery.
Table of first lines as contents; index of subjects.
550. SHEPPARD, John, The Foreign Sacred Lyre (1857)
 Jackson & Walford, xx, 295, 4 ads., 5s 6d.
'Metrical versions of religious poetry from the German, French and Italian; together with the original pieces.'
 (Title page) See companion volume, item 717.
Includes work that may not be obviously religious.
Authors include Klopstock, Racine, Michel-Angelo.
'Religious travellers on the Continent... may be interested in possessing and using a sort of religious "hand-book" in languages with which if they would reap full benefit and pleasure from their excursions abroad, they must cultivate acquaintance.' (Preface)
551. SMITH, John, Morning and Evening Hymns for Every Day of the Year, for the Family and Church (Glasgow, 1857)
 Simpkin, vi, 24 (index) then unnumbered, 180 pp music, 3s.
Index of first lines, 732 hymns, index of subjects, index of psalms and paraphrases, directory to appropriate tunes.
552. [SMITH, W.B.], Paradise Kept, or Sorrow Turned into Joy (1857)
 J. Masters, 216 pp, 36 pp publisher's catalogue., 4s.
Blank verse. Laborious and heavy-handed sermonising, mixes biblical material, reflection, history, contemporary events, autobiography ('though as captain of my school I ranked/By Bronte {now of fame}). Attribution: BL catalogue.
553. STRAFFORD, Elizabeth, Hymns for the Collects Throughout the Year: for the Use of Children (1857)
 J & C. Mozley, 72 pp., paper, 6d.
3rd ed.: 1861. See item 637.

554. [STUART, Edward], Hymns for the Church of S. Mary Magdalene, Munster Sq., Regent's Park (1857)
New ed., G.J. Palmer, unnumbered pp., limp cloth.
158 hymns; Christian year arrangement. Familiar material; index of first lines. See item 76.
555. STURGE, H.J., Texts and Hymns Selected for Children (1857)
Hamilton, Adams, ii, 9-184, 3s, 4s.
'Wishing to possess, in one book, for the use of my own children, a number of favourite Texts and Hymns, suitable for them to commit to memory; and desiring to assist those Mothers whose daily cares press heavily, in their anxious endeavour to provide subjects of instructive thought for their little ones; I am very much indebted to the Authors who have granted me permission.' (Preface)
Poems from page 63. Contents list material alphabetically by title; authors given, including work by Edmeston, Montgomery, Mrs Sigourney, Mary Howitt, Keble, A.L. Waring.
556. T, E.M., Passion Week: a Collection of Poetical Pieces on Subjects Suited to the Holy Seasons (1857)
New ed., Bell & Daldy, xviii, 169, 3 ads., 7s 6d.
Illus. Durer. Predominantly 17th century material, but includes Isaac Williams, Keble. See item 469.
557. THOLUCK, A., Hours of Devotion: a Meditation for Every Day in the Month (1857)
2nd ed., Hamilton, Adams & Co., vi, 152, 2 ad.
Translated and abridged from the German by Ann and Catherine H. Dunn. See item 234.
Biblical reference, verse, prose, concluding verse.
558. TUPPER, M.F., Proverbial Philosophy (1857)
29th ed., Hatchard, viii, 385, 6 ads., 8s.
See items 82, 153, 237, 312, 471, 559, 827.
559. -----, Proverbial Philosophy (1857)
30th ed., Hatchard, viii, 522, 6 ads., 8s.
See items 82, 153, 237, 312, 471, 558, 827.
560. WALTERS, W., Sacred Garland; or the Christian's Daily Delight (Halifax, 1857)
2nd series, Milner & Sowerby, xv, 368, 2s.
'Comprising a text of Scripture, an Anecdote or an Illustration, and poetry, for Every day in the Year.'
(Title page)
561. WARING, A.L., Hymns and Meditations (1857)
6th ed., Cash, 2s.
This edition not traced. See items 157, 313, 398, 473, 644-45, 832.
562. WATTS, Isaac, Divine and Moral Songs for Children (1857)
Ward and Lock, 39 pp, 2 ads., paper, 6d.
Black and white engravings.

563. -----, Divine and Moral Songs for Children (1857)
T. Nelson, unnumbered pp., paper.
Etching and gilt trim to each page. See item 401.
564. Wesleyan Sunday-Scholars' Hymn Book, The (1857)
General Wesleyan Reform Committee, vi, 128, leather.
Thematic arrangement. Authors given. Much Watts. Index of first words. 'To meet the wants of the 80,000 Scholars now connected with the separate Societies, this Book has been prepared.' (Preface)
565. [WHITE, G. Cosby], Introductions and Hymns (1857)
5th ed., J. Masters, xii, 154, 1 ad.
See items 160, 725.
566. WILLIAMS, Isaac, The Cathedral; or the Catholic and Apostolic Church in England (1857)
7th ed., J.H. Parker, xvi, 296, 7s 6d.
1st ed.: 1838; 10th ed.: 1874.
'The present design has been ... a selection of subjects, more or less appropriate to the parts which they are made to represent, from the Liturgy, and the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church; care being taken to adhere as much as possible to the relative proportions of such a structure.' (Advertisement)
Four main sections: Exterior, Nave, Choir, Pillars and Windows.
567. Winchester Church Hymn Book (Winchester, 1857)
Hugh Barclay, viii, unnumbered pp.
258 hymns + doxologies. Christian year arrangement. Index of first words; index of subjects.
568. WINKWORTH, Catherine (trans.), Lyra Germanica (1857)
4th ed., Longman, Second series, xxii, 264, embossed cloth.
See items 403, 477, 647, 731.
569. WITHER, George, Hallelujah, or Britain's Second Remembrancer (1857)
John Russell Smith, xxxii, 399, 16 pp catalogue, 6s.
'Bringing to remembrance, in praiseful and penitential hymns, spiritual songs and moral ones, meditations in the practice of piety and virtue.' (Title page)
Library of Old Authors, introduction by E. Farr.
1st ed.: 1641.

1858

570. [ALEXANDER, C.F.], Hymns Descriptive and Devotional, for the Use of Schools (1858)
J. Masters, 32 pp., paper, 2d.
24 hymns for Church calendar occasions.
571. -----, Hymns for Little Children (1858)
J. Masters, 3s 6d, 5s.
This item not traced. See items 89, 480.
572. -----, Verses for Holy Seasons (1858)
4th ed., Bell and Daldy, xii, 146, embossed leather, 3s 6d.
Title page : by C.F.H. 1st ed.: 1846.
Ed. Walter F. Hook.
'A Christian Year for children.' (Preface)
573. B[AGOT], D[aniell], Original Hymns, and a Few of the Psalms Paraphrased (Dublin, 1858)
Madden & Oldham, 36 pp., paper.
Index of first lines. Author identified in Cushing, Initials and Pseudonyms.
574. [BATEMAN, H.], Sunday Sunshine: New Hymns and Poems for the Young (1858)
Nisbet, viii, 150, cloth gilt, 2s 6d.
Authorship identified in second edition. See item 653.
'I have attempted to supply some New Hymns and Poems...the supposition being that, my readers and learners should range from three, to ten or twelve years of age... . Every Hymn and Poem is of equal length, and in the same metre; this is advisedly done; that, so far as length or construction is concerned, the Sunday Sunshine shall not be overclouded.'
(Preface) Biblical and nature subjects intermingled.
575. [BAYNES, R.H.], Hymns for the Public Worship of the Church [1858]
Alexander Heylin, iv, unnumbered pp., 1s 6d.
400 hymns for Church Seasons, Public Worship and Special Occasions. Index first lines; no authors. Familiar material.
'Three great faults in nearly every modern collection of Hymns for public Worship...:
I. Too many hymns are selected...
II. As a result of the first evil, a considerable proportion of poor and unworthy hymns find a place in most collections...
III. ... Too many hymns of a private and personal nature are introduced.
The object of hymns is not to bring praise to the writer, but to promote the glory of God.' (Preface, signed by editor.)

576. BEAMISH, Adam Newman, The Christian Visitor's Companion (1858)
 Wertheim, xx, 352, re-bound, 4s 6d.
'A Manual containing Scripture Readings, with Expositions, Prayers, and Hymns. Intended chiefly for those who visit where, through physical or other causes, the public means of grace are unattainable.' (Title page)
'Some, perhaps, will object to the placing of hymns in such a work; but,...I should say that those who have experience in visiting the sick regard metrical compositions, that harmonize with the Scriptures, as singularly instructive, pleasing and consolatory.' (Preface)
577. BEASLEY, T.N., The Christiad and Other Poems (1858)
 J. Madden, 76, 1 ad., 3s 6d.
 Title poem in rhyming couplets; asks *'Is such a world as ours Christ's aim and end?'* Rest of collection is occasional verse.
578. [BETTS, Henry John, ed.], The Children's Hosannah [1858]
 145th thousand, Jarrold & Son, unnumbered pp., limp cloth, 1d, 2d.
 124 hymns; index of subjects.
'Every Sunday Scholar who can read ought to have a hymn book; the price of the hymn book, therefore, should be within every scholar's means.' (Preface)
579. BICKERSTETH, Edward Henry, Psalms and Hymns based on the Christian Psalmody of the late Edward Bickersteth [1858]
 2nd ed., Dean & Son, viii, 379 pp., 6d - 3s 6d.
 Date from Preface. *'Compiled anew by his son.'* (Title page)
 Index of first lines with authors. Julian gives same date for first edition; BL has copy acquired in 1874 dated [1858] with 244 pp. Copy of this item in CUL.
580. BONAR, Horatius, Hymns of Faith and Hope (1858)
 3rd ed., Nisbet, viii, 284, embossed cloth.
 See items 486-87, 655.
581. BOURNE, L., Thoughts Upon Catholic Truths (1858)
 J. Masters, xii, 192.
'Some few are originally written for the children of a Sunday School, but it is hoped they may not be considered out of place in the present volume, as they endeavour to express in simple language some all-vital doctrines of our Holy Church.' (Preface)
582. BOWRING, Edgar Alfred, The Most Holy Book of Psalms (1858)
 J.W. Parker, xiv, 155, 5s.
'Literally rendered into English Verse according to the Prayer Book version.' (Title page)
 In heptameter couplets.

583. [BRIGHT, W.], Athanasius and Other Poems (1858)
Joseph Masters, viii, 76, limp cloth, 2s.
'By a Fellow of a College': authorship attributed in Sedgwick and BL catalogue. Title poem was contributed to 'Rugby Miscellany' of 1845. Other poems include 'Jeremiah in Egypt', 'Christmas Eve', 'Easter Day' and 'Dies Irae'.
584. CARLISLE, Earl of [HOWARD, G.W.F.], The Second Vision of Daniel A Paraphrase in Verse (1858)
Longman, 23 pp., 2s 6d.
Rhyming couplets. Biblical extract first. Copy in CUL.
585. CASWALL, Edward, The Mask of Mary, and Other Poems (1858)
Burns & Lambert, xi, 389.
Title poem 'A Masque of Angels Before Our Lady in the Temple'; mixture of blank verse and lyrics. 'Easter Ship' - urging Catholic revival. Hymns and meditative pieces; hymns in translation.
586. Church Hymn-Book, Arranged According to the Services of the Church of England and Ireland, together with Miscellaneous Hymns (Belfast, 1858)
2nd ed., T. McIlroy, viii, 224, leather.
'Published under the sanction of the Lord Bishop of Down and Connor, and compiled by a clergyman of the United Diocese.' (Title page)
250 hymns; index to subjects; index of first lines; no authors. Church year arrangement, then thematic. 'The hymns are properly congregational... expressed in the plural number.' (Preface) See item 253.
587. Collection of Hymns and Poetry Original and Selected, A (Preston, 1858)
3rd ed., rev. and enl., Dobson & Son, 132 pp., limp cloth.
'Contents' called Index. Index of first lines. Authors given for more than half. 'Compiled chiefly for the use of schools.' (Title page)
'Such a collection as may not only prove interesting to young persons, but will also be valued by them in after-life.' (Preface)
Includes work by Montgomery, Barton, Longfellow, Hemans, Swain, Howitt, Heber, Cowper, Watts.
588. Collection of Hymns to be Sung in Churches, A (Edinburgh, 1858)
R. Grant & Son, vi, 119.
119 hymns; no authors. Index of first lines. Part I: Hymns throughout the Year Part II: Hymns Proper for Certain Days and Seasons Part III: Hymns for Administration of the Sacrament, and other occasional services.
589. COWPER, William, The Poetical Works (1858)
Routledge, xlviii, 631, cloth gilt.
Edited R.A. Willmott, illustrated John Gilbert. See item 339.

590. EDMONSTONE, Sir Archibald, Devotional Reflections in Verse
(Edinburgh, 1858)
R. Grant & Son, ix, 182.
'Four years ago, I published a little volume entitled
"Meditations in Verse for Sundays and Holy-days throughout the
Year". (See item 180) It met with very limited circulation; in
fact, is little known, except among private friends. In the
present volume the former is embodied, with considerable
alterations and additions; so much so as to constitute a new
work.' (Preface) Brief biblical text followed by poem.
591. [ESSINGTON, R.W.], Liturgical Hymns (1858)
Simpkin, Marshall, x, 98, limp cloth, 6d.
Preface dated Shenstone Vicarage, 1858. Incumbent at that date
was Essington. 'Compilers' mentioned in preface. 193 hymns.
592. F[AWCETT], C., Hymns (1858)
Wertheim, Macintosh & Hunt, viii, 64.
Biblical starting point for most. Note of cheerful urging:
'Look up, my soul..' 'O! what a happy lot is mine'; 'Another
bright and blessed day'; 'All, all is right, and must be so.'
BL catalogue identifies C.F. as Fawcett.
593. FORD, James, Steps to the Sanctuary (Cambridge, 1858)
Macmillan, vi, 77, 24 pp catalogue, re-bound, 2s 6d.
'The Order for Morning Prayer, set forth and explained in
Verse.' (Title page)
'No person can have mixed much with the poorer classes in
our land without observing their fondness for rhymes, such
as are here offered them. Perhaps we do not avail ourselves
to the extent we might of this predilection.' (Notice)
This is a reworking of his 1853 pamphlet, with revisions
and additions, including extensive annotation. No
reference is made to this work's earlier appearance. See
item 185.
594. [FOSBERY, T.V.], Psalms and Hymns for Public Worship [1858]
SPCK, xii, 195.
See items 188, 269, 510, 678, 768. Date of accession to BL.
595. [FOX, William Johnson], Hymns and Anthems (1858)
4th ed., Charles Fox, unnumbered pages.
1st ed.: 1841. 150 pieces; index of poems and music.
Unusual collection, much unexpected material.
Includes Chaucer, Shakespeare, Wordsworth, Shelley,
Tennyson, Browning. Attribution: Julian, BL catalogue.
596. Guardian Angel, The (1858)
Masters, unnumbered pp., embossed cloth, 10s 6d.
Each poem paired with full page line drawing - amateur in
execution. Dedicated 'to my Husband, These Little Sketches,
for the Use of Our Own and Other Christian Children.'
Material drawn from several C.F. Alexander collections,
Christian Year and work by J.M. Neale and A.C. Coxe.

597. HABERSHON, W.(ed.), One Hundred Hymns on the Canticles (1858)
 Nisbet & Co., 91 pp., cloth gilt.
Introduction by Rev. R.H. Herschell. 100 hymns.
Index of first lines; authors named.
Predominantly the work of Erskine, Irons, Kent and Watts.
598. HALL, Newman, Hymns Composed at Bolton Abbey, and other Rhymes
 (1858)
 Nisbet, 101, 2 ads., cloth gilt, 2s 6d.
*'The Author does not claim for them the high rank of poetry;
 but their publication as devout meditations in verse, will
 not be altogether unjustifiable..' (Preface)*
599. [HALL, W.J.], Psalms and Hymns, Adapted to the Services of
 the Church of England (1858)
 Rivington.
*See items 109, 189, 271, 514-15, 682. Tiny edition with reduced
 size print and same paging as larger editions.*
600. Hebrew Children: Poetical Illustrations of Biblical Characters
 (Edinburgh, 1858)
 William Elgin & Son, x, 130, 3s 6d.
*From Cain and Abel to Joash in OT; St.John the Baptist to
 Timothy in NT.*
601. Hymns. Trinity Church Tottenham (Tottenham, 1858)
 W.J. Hunninger, 36 pp., limp cloth.
*48 hymns with 4 doxologies. Index of first lines (with
 authors) and index of subjects. Familiar material includes
 Watts and Montgomery.*
602. Hymns for the Holy Seasons, and Anthems, Used in St.John's
 Church, Cheltenham ([Cheltenham], 1858)
 T. Shipton, unnumbered pp.
*In sections according to Holy Season; hymns numbered
 separately in each section. No authors.*
603. Hymns of Zion for Sabbath Schools and Bible Classes (1858)
 Nelson, unnumbered pp., paper.
78 hymns. Index of first lines.
604. Hymns Used at Holy Trinity Church, Vauxhall-Bridge Road,
 Westminster (1858)
 New ed., Spottiswoode & Co., 106 pp., limp cloth.
*100 hymns, Christian year arrangement. Index of first lines
 and authors.*
605. [JOWETT, Benjamin], New Metrical Translation of the Book of
 Psalms [1858]
 S. Bagster, xxiv, unnumbered pp., 16 ads., 5s 6d.
*'Accentuated for chanting. An attempt to preserve, as far as
 possible, the leading characteristics of the original, in the
 language of the English Bible.'* (Title page) *Date: Bookseller.*
Dedication : December 1857. Attribution: BL catalogue.

606. KEBLE, John, The Christian Year (1858)
53rd ed., J.H. & J.Parker, viii, 360, cloth gilt, £1. 5s.
Index of first lines. Lavish edition, with illuminated MS style section pages. See items 29, 123, 357, 527, 696, 785.
607. KENDALL, C. (ed.), The New Sunday School Reciter and Child's Companion (Leeds, 1858)
J. Parrott, 179, 1 ad., 1s.
Vol 1 (sold in parts at at 2d per number). Mixture of prose and verse. High proportion of latter. Contents listed at back of volume. A few authors acknowledged, including Longfellow. Collection described in Preface as 'suitable... for recitation' and also 'adapted for private reading'.
608. Little Verse Book, The [1858]
Religious Tract Society, 12 pp., paper, 8d per dozen.
*Date attributed in BL catalogue. No.9 in series 'Picture Books for Little Children'. See item 641.
Half page of illustration, other half, poem of two verses.
Earnest moral tone.*
609. LITTLEWOOD, W. Edensor, A Garland from the Parables (1858)
Bell and Daldy, viii, 68, 2s 6d.
31 poems based on New Testament parables.
610. MARTINEAU, James, Hymns for the Christian Church and Home (1858)
13th edition, Longman, xli, unnumbered pp, xxvi.
651 hymns. See items 35, 127, 444, 701.
611. MASSEREENE and FERRARD, Viscount [John Skeffington], The Love of God: a Poem (Dublin, 1958)
Keeling and Shew, iv, 161, 4s.
In rhymed couplets, composed in three parts of three books each ('intended to evidence the place that mystical number holds in the Author's thoughts'), starting from love of God evidenced in Creation, through man's fall, mercy, salvation, delights in store for Christian, power to resist temptation.
612. MAYNARD, Julia, Eight of Our Lord's Parables Paraphrased, and Other Poems (1858)
Kerby & Son, 64 pp., paper, 1s.
Good Samaritan, Prodigal Son, Sower, Rich Man and Lazarus, Wheat and Tares, Marriage of King's Son, Ten Virgins, Talents.
613. Methodist Revival Hymn Book, The (Louth, [1858])
E. Squire, 72 pp., paper, 1d per part, nos 1-3.
24 pp in each part. Mostly anonymous; Watts and Wesley identified. Date of accession to BL.
614. Metrical Translation of the Psalms, A, from the Original Hebrew, Compared with the Ancient Versions (1858)
2nd ed, Rev.and enl., Rivingtons, xx, 348, 8s.
See item 165.

615. Metrical Translation of the Song of Solomon, A, from the Original Hebrew, Compared with the Ancient Versions (1858)
Rev. ed., Rivingtons, 42, 1 ad., limp cloth, 1s 6d.
Significantly reworked version of 1853 volume (see item 231). This version in six line stanza.
616. MILTON, John, The Poetical Works (1858)
T. Nelson and Sons, xxx, 523, cloth gilt.
Complete edition. See item 209.
617. -----, The Poetical Works (1858)
G. Routledge, viii, 570, cloth gilt.
'A new edition, carefully revised from the text of Thomas Newton, D.D. Illustrated by William Harvey.' (Title page)
618. MITCHELL, Thomas, Palestine Revisited, and Other Poems (1858)
W. & A. Webster, xi, 109, 3s.
'In the larger poems of 'Palestine Revisited' and 'The Wanderer' I have endeavoured to bring forward, and to press upon the public, certain truths, which though neither new, nor uncommon, I believe to be greatly lost, or disregarded in the present day.' (Preface)
Dedicated to C.B. Cayley. 2nd ed.: 1866.
619. MONSELL, J.S.B., Parish Musings, or Devotional Poems (1858)
4th ed., Rivingtons, 2s.
This edition not traced. See item 367.
620. MORRIS, Eliza F., The Voice and the Reply [1858]
Piper, Stephenson & Spence, x, 182, 1 ad., embossed cloth.
Dated in Preface November 1858; accession to BL in December.
'The Voice of the great Father is ever speaking to His children, through His works, in His Word, and by the silent whispers of His Spirit. In 'The Reply', the author has endeavoured to embody in language, the unspoken feelings of many a heart, through the various phases of the Christian journey.' (Preface)
621. My Poetry Book [1858]
Religious Tract Society, viii, 134, 2 ads., embossed cloth, 1s 6d, 2s.
Much religious material. Date from Bookseller. Copy in CUL, accession date 1860; catalogue date [1858].
622. NEALE, J.M., Egypt: A Seatonian Poem (Cambridge, 1858)
Deighton Bell, 33 pp., paper, 1s.
Two poems with same title, both awarded prize.
623. NORTHESK, Countess of, [Georgina Maria Carnegie], A Selection of Prayers and Hymns for the Use of Her Children (1858)
Hatchard, 2 parts, each iv, 36, 1 ad., limp cloth, 2s.
Part I dedicated to five year old daughter; Part II to son. Privately published in 1852. Both parts begin with 'Happy Sunday'. No authors given. Watts, Hemans and Montgomery included.

624. PARRY, Frederick, A Selection of Psalms and Hymns Adapted to Public Worship (Chester, 1858)
9th ed., Catherall & Prichard, xvi, 176.
1st ed.: 1838.
Dedicated to Bishop of Chester.
Indexes of first lines for psalms, hymns and appendix.
Copy in Elias collection.
625. PIERPOINT, Folliott Sandford, Songs of Love, The Chalice of Nature and Lyra Jesu (1858)
2nd ed., Bell & Daldy, 100 pp., limp cloth.
1st ed.: ?1855. BL has copy tentatively dated thus, acquired in 1949.
Third part ('Lyra Jesu') specifically religious verse, but much religious emphasis elsewhere, especially in 'The Chalice of Nature'.
626. Prayers and Hymns for the Use of Sunday Schools (1858)
3rd ed., Bell & Daldy, 32 pp., paper, 2d.
18 hymns and doxology.
627. Prince of Peace, or Lays of Bethlehem: Selected from the British Poets (1858)
Seeley, Jackson & Halliday, xiv, 176, embossed cloth gilt, 7s - 12s.
Illustrated. Thematic arrangement. 16th-19th century material.
'Poems signed JRS have not been before published.' Copy in CUL.
628. QUARLES, Francis, Emblems, Divine and Moral [1858]
New ed., Tegg, xx, 236, 4s.
'With a sketch of the life and times of the author [by W.W.]' (Title page)
1st ed.: 1635. Date of accession to BL.
629. Rhymes for the Young (Dublin, 1858)
Dublin Tract Repository, 32 pp., paper, 1d.
Many bible based pieces: 'The Story of Joseph', 'Little Moses'. Earnest moral tone.
630. ROBBINS, H, Our Little Ones in Heaven (1858)
Sampson Low, xvii, 216 and 12 pp catalogue, 5s.
'A collection of thoughts in prose and verse.' (Title page)
Verse from Christian Year, Sacred Year; poems by Coleridge, Mrs Sigourney, Longfellow, Wordsworth, Alaric A. Watts, Tennyson, Gerald Massey, Mrs Hemans.
631. RYLE, J.C., Spiritual Songs (Ipswich, 1858)
10th ed., enl., Wertheim & Macintosh, 119, [vi].
See item 383.

632. Select Hymns for Sunday Schools [1858]
 Simpkin, 144 pp., paper, 3d.
Compiled by a committee of Sunday School teachers.
'at once popular and evangelical, comprehensive and cheap...
Some of the hymns are not suitable for singing, but are
inserted for committing to memory, or perusal at home.' (Preface)
Thematic arrangement. No authors. See item 548.
Date of accession to BL.
633. SHIPTON, Anna, Whispers in the Palms [1858]
 2nd ed., augmented, William Yapp, xiv, 209, cloth gilt.
Preface dated November 20 1857; accession date BL: July
1858. See item 388.
634. SHORTHOUSE, J.P, Theology in Verse; or, Poems on the Fundamental
Truths of Christianity, Doctrinal and Practical (1858)
 Aylott & Co., viii, 160, 3s 6d.
'To which are added Rustic Lays, Sacred and Moral.' (Title
 page).
Covers God, The Fall, The Recovery, Sin, Election, The
Gospel, Justification by Faith. Lengthy notes, mini-
theological essays.
635. Sinai: Written for the Seatonian Prize Poem (Cambridge, 1858)
 Deighton Bell, 16 pp., paper.
By 'An Unsuccessful Candidate'; Spenserian stanza.
636. Song of Moses and the Lamb, to be Used by the Society of
Christian Israelites (Gravesend, 1858)
 W. Deane, 192, ix, leather.
See item 230.
637. STRAFFORD, Elizabeth, Hymns for the Collects Throughout the
Year (1858)
 2nd ed., J. and C. Mozley, 72 pp., paper.
See item 553.
638. TAYLOR, Ann and Jane, Hymns for Infant Minds (1858)
 44th ed., Jackson and Walford, x, 11-144, 1s 6d.
See items 78, 152, 310, 470, 824.
639. THOM, John Hamilton, Hymns, Chants and Anthems (1858)
 E.T. Whitfield, xxiii, unnumbered pp.
597 hymns; thematic arrangement. Index of first lines with
authors. Much Montgomery. Classified as Unitarian in Elias
catalogue. Copy in Elias collection.
640. VAUGHAN, Henry, Sacred Poems and Pious Ejaculations (1858)
 New ed., Bell & Daldy, xlviii, 247, re-bound, 5s, 7s 6d.
1st ed.: 1650. This volume a re-editing of 1847 edition.
With a memoir by H.F. Lyte.

641. Verses and Pictures [1858]
 Religious Tract Society, 12 pp., paper, 8d per dozen.
No 4 in 'Picture Books for Little Children' (see item 608).
Date attributed in BL catalogue. Earnest moralising.
642. WALKER, Thomas, Egypt: A Prize Poem (Cambridge, 1858)
 Deighton Bell, 18 pp., paper.
Seatonian prize poem in blank verse.
643. [WALLIS, James], Christian Praise (1858)
 3rd ed., Hall, Virtue and Co., xxiv, unnumbered pp.
See item 238. 'The Christian hymn book exercises the largest and mightiest formative influence upon young and old, upon saint and sinner, of any book in the world.' (Preface)
644. WARING, A.L., Additional Hymns (1858)
 A.W. Bennett, 23 pp., paper, 6d.
5 hymns. Supplement to Hymns and Meditations, 7th ed. See 645.
645. -----, Hymns and Meditations (1858)
 7th ed., Alfred and William Bennett, 93 pp., re-bound.
See items 157, 313, 398, 473, 561, 644, 832.
646. WILLIAMS, Garnons, The Happy Isles: Poems (1858)
 Saunders & Otley, iv, 159, 4 ads., embossed cloth.
Miscellaneous verse with religious emphasis. Long blank verse history of 'The Book of Common Prayer'.
647. WINKWORTH, Catherine (trans.), Lyra Germanica: Second Series: The Christian Life (1858)
 Longman, xiii, 239, embossed cloth, 5s.
Index of first lines of English versions. Table of German hymns by Church season, then theme.
'In this series...hymns are admitted of a more personal and individual character...' (Preface)
Part I: Aids of the Church; Part II: The Inner Life.
Largely 16th and 17th century. See items 403, 477, 568, 731.
648. Words of the Congregational Hymn and Tune Book, The
 (Bristol, 1858)
 7th thousand, J. Wright, unnumbered pp., re-bound.
Pages very closely printed. 106 hymns.

1859

649. ADAMS, H.C., The Twelve Foundations and Other Poems
(Cambridge, 1859)
Macmillan, xiii, 200, 16 pp Christmas list.
Dedicated to Warden of Winchester College.
*Title sequence takes as text "And the wall of the city
had twelve foundations, and in them the names of the
twelve apostles of the lamb." One poem for each of twelve
apostles; varied stanza forms; briefly annotated.*
650. ALEXANDER, C.F., The Legend of the Golden Prayers and Other Poems
(1859)
Bell & Daldy, viii, 228, 5s.
*Includes section of Hymns and Sacred Poems, also The Valley
of the Shadow of Death, and Churches.*
651. -----, Narrative Hymns for Village Schools (1859)
5th ed., J. Masters, 28, 4 ads., paper, 6d.
See items 162, 481.
652. [B, J.], Thoughts in Verse for Christian Children (1859)
Hamilton, Adams & Co., 48 pp., limp cloth, 9d.
*Dedication bears initials J.B. Writer 'an attached member of
the Church of England' (Preface).*
See item 737. Copy in CUL.
653. B[ATEMAN], H., Sunday Sunshine: New Hymns and Poems for the
Young (1859)
2nd ed., Nisbet, xii, 150, 2s 6d.
See item 574. Author identified in preface.
654. B[EVAN], E[mma] F[rances], Songs of Praise for Christian
Pilgrims (1859)
Hamilton, Adams, [vi], 152, 5s.
*Preface acknowledges sacred poetry as 'a class of writing
on which opinion varies' and offers the view that
'simplicity, spirituality, and devotional feeling appear to
be among the essential properties.'*
*Biblical texts preface poems. Some translation from German,
and verse for children.*
*Title page bears initials, E.F.B. 'author of Songs of
Eternal Life'. Identified in Bookseller and BL catalogue.*
655. BONAR, Horatius, Hymns of Faith and Hope (1859)
Nisbet, viii, 284, calf.
See items 486-87, 580.
656. Book of Children's Hymns and Rhymes. The [1859]
James Hogg & Sons, 312, 8 pp catalogue of new work, 3s 6d.
'Collected by the Daughter of a Clergyman.' (Title page).
*A general collection with high proportion of religious
verse. Much Watts. Index of first lines.*
Date of BL accession.

657. [BORTHWICK, Jane], Thoughts for Thoughtful Hours in Verse (1859)
Nelson, 36 pp., paper, 3d.
2nd ed.: 1863; 3rd ed.: 1867. *Biblical texts preface most poems.*
658. [BRADLEY, Charles], Psalms and Hymns. Selected and Arranged for Public Worship (1859)
8th ed., Hamilton, Adams & Co., 280 pp., 1s 6d.
1st ed.: 1828; Copy examined - 9th ed.: 1863.
Index of first words. Editorship indicated in note on Contents page: 'This selection may be obtained for distribution at a reduced price, by addressing a line to the Rev. C. Bradley at the publisher.'
659. BRODRICK, John, Lays of the Sabbath: Appropriate for Every Sunday of the Year (1859)
L. Booth, 93, 2 ads.
'These Lays originally appeared in the columns of the "Yorkshire Gazette"' (Preface)
Biblical text prefaces each poem. Begins at second Sunday after Christmas and works through year. Author defends himself in Preface against charge of merely imitating Keble.
660. [BROWNE, J.E.], The Dove on the Cross (1859)
7th ed., J. Nisbet and Co., viii, 136.
See items 166, 326, 488.
661. BURKE, James, Gems from the Catholic Poets (1859)
Catholic Publishing & Bookselling Co.Ltd, xvi, 17-128, 32 pp catalogue of CPBC, re-bound, 1s.
Includes biographical and literary introduction to each poet. From Chaucer to contemporary. Dedicated to D.F. MacCarthy, whose work is included. Part of Instructive and Entertaining Library.
'The intellectual supremacy of Catholicity must stand admitted.' (Preface) *Predominance of Marian material.*
662. [BUSK, Hans], Hebrew Lyrics: Transfusing the Pious Spirit of the Divine Psalmist into Devout Exercises of Prayer, Praise, and Thanksgiving (1859)
Saunders, Otley & Co., xiv, 479, cloth gilt, 10s 6d.
By an Octogenarian. Authorship attributed in Sedgwick and BL catalogue, Verbose prefatory material.
Uses iambic, trochaic and anapaestic metres.
663. Catholic Hymns, adapted to the Use of Congregations, Schools, etc. [1859]
Richard Butler, in two parts, 8 pp each., paper, 1d each.
Part one date of accession BL. (Part two: 1861.)
664. CHAMPNEY, H.N., Heart Melodies for Believers, and Other Original Pieces of a Sacred Character (York, 1859)
Edward H. Pickering, 60 pp., paper, 6d.
All start from biblical text. Contents listed alphabetically by title.

665. CHAPMAN, W., Teetotal Hymns (1859)
 William Tweedie, 48 pp., paper, 2d.
50 hymns. Publisher's preface: 'The writer is a poor old labouring man.'
666. [CHARLES, Elizabeth], The Three Wakings. With Hymns and Songs (1859)
 James Nisbet, 194 pp., 3s 6d.
*In three parts: I The Three Wakings [miscellaneous verse]
 II The Women of the Gospels; III Hymns
 By the author of 'The Voice of Christian Life in Song' etc.
 Identified in BL catalogue.*
667. CHESTER, Greville John, ed., A Church Hymn Book; with Metrical Psalms and the Canticles Printed for Chanting (1859)
 Bell & Daldy, 94 pp., paper, 2d.
81 psalms and hymns. Index of first lines as contents, index of seasonal hymns, no authors.
668. Church Hymnal for Parochial Use, A (Oxford, 1859)
 Parker, 273 pp., limp cloth.
Printed for private circulation. In two parts, each with separate index of first lines. Part 1: 216 hymns following seasons of Christian year; Part II: 217-306, miscellaneous and additional.
669. COWPER, William, Poems [1859]
 R. Griffin and Co., 1, 423.
With an introductory essay by James Montgomery. Date of accession to BL. See item 337.
670. -----, Poems (1859)
 W. Kent and Co., 2 vols, lxxii, 274; vi, 336, calf.
With a biographical and critical introduction by the Rev. Thomas Dale. Illustrated.
671. -----, The Poetical Works (1859)
 Nelson, xlviii, 535, embossed leather gilt.
See items 106, 176, 338.
672. [DARLING, Thomas], Hymns for the Church of England (1859)
 Longman, 1s 6d, 1s 4d.
This item not traced. See items 501, 756.
673. DAVIS, Thomas, Songs for the Suffering (1859)
 John W. Parker, xi, 180.
*Most poems prefaced by biblical text.
 'It is mainly in its more obvious and express adaptation to console under every kind of trial, that the volume will be found to differ from the one already published under the title of Devotional Verse for a Month.' (Preface) See items 342, 757.*

674. ELLERTON, John (ed.), Hymns for Schools and Bible Classes (Brighton, 1859)
H. & C. Treacher, vi, 66, re-bound.
66 hymns, with information on author, date, tunes and sources. Index of first lines.
Concerned with 'storing the minds of our young people with words of praise which may be of value to them all their lives, not merely in childhood.' (Preface)
675. [ELLIOTT, Charlotte], Morning and Evening Hymns for a Week [1859]
30th thousand, L. Booth, 36 pp., limp cloth, 1s.
1st ed.: 1836. Title page: 'By a Lady'. Identified in BL Catalogue. Date of accession to BL, also listed in 1859 Publishers' Circular. Sold for benefit of S. Mary's Hall, Brighton. 40th thousand: 1871.
676. FAIRBAIRN, John C., Hymns and Poems (Edinburgh, 1859)
Andrew Elliot, iv, 5-158, 2 ads., 2s.
Predominant note of praise. Variety of forms includes sonnet, blank verse, quatrains.
677. Fifty Sunday School Rewards [1859]
Nelson, 4 pp each, 6d.
Prose and verse. Often final hymn.
Illustrated paper cover bears motto:
 'Teach me thy Way O Lord
 And lead me in a Plain Path.'
No date: BL accession date: 1859.
678. [FOSBERY, T.V.], Hymns for Public Worship [1859]
SPCK, 137 pp., limp cloth, 4d - 2s.
See items 188, 269, 510, 594, 768. Date of accession to BL.
679. FRAME, Robert, Lays of Judah and Other Poems (1859)
Hamilton, Adams & Co., 207, 1 ad., 3s 6d.
'Lays' include 'Masada', 'Passage of Jordan', 'Death of Saul' in title sequence. 'Other poems' classified as 'Christian Lays' and 'Ballads'.
680. [FRANCIS, A], A Selection of Hymns for the Use of the Congregational Church, Water Street, Rhyl (Rhyl, 1859)
[compiled by the minister], 82 pp., limp cloth.
Printed in alphabetical order of first lines. Index of subjects.
'Visitors disposed to worship with us, not having their own hymn books with them, or not possessing the exact collections generally in use among Congregationalists, may easily procure this volume.' (Preface)
Engraving of church opposite title page gives the volume the air of a 'souvenir'.
Preface signed A.F. Clergy List and BL Catalogue identify as Francis.

681. [G, F.E.], A Selection of Hymns arranged as a Companion to Horne's Manual of Parochial Psalmody (1859)
Longman, 84 pp., limp cloth.
Initials on Prefatory note. Index of first lines. Christian year arrangement, then thematic.
682. [HALL, W.J.], Psalms and Hymns adapted to the Services of the Church of England (1859)
Rivington, vii, 86, unnumbered pp.
303 hymns. *See items 109, 189, 271, 514-15, 599.*
683. HERBERT, George, The Works of George Herbert, in Prose and Verse (1859)
Bell & Daldy, 2 vols, xii, 438; xxvi, 384, 21s.
Volume 2: Poems.
684. [HERVEY, Thomas, ed.], A Plain Hymnal for the Services of the Church of England (1859)
E. Thompson, unnumbered pp., limp cloth, 9d.
136 hymns. *Index of first lines. Editor identified in Preface. 'The Hymns are arranged according to the order of the Book of Common Prayer.' (Preface)*
685. [HEWETT, J.W.], Verses, by a Country Curate (1859)
J. Masters, viii, 172.
Mostly hymns; much translated from the Latin. Author identified by Julian, Sedgwick and BL catalogue.
686. HEY, Rebecca, Holy Places, and Other Poems (1859)
Hatchard & Co., xii, 163, 32 pp catalogue, embossed cloth gilt, 5s.
Dedicated to the Earl of Shaftesbury. Profits to 'aid the Special Missions to India.'
687. Hymns [1859]
J. Novello, 108 pp., paper.
*Final note 'These hymns are printed for temporary use, and as a specimen, still open to revision, of the Hymn Book, now in course of preparation by a Committee of Clergymen, the publication of which has been postponed to Advent 1860.' [i.e. Hymns Ancient and Modern]
'A sixpenny edition will be published in good type.'
138 hymns, church year arrangement.*
688. Hymns for the Church of God (Leicester, 1859)
Part II, Houlston & Stoneman, 297-417, 1s 6d.
See item 115.
689. Hymns for the Churches of St. Mary the Virgin; St. Paul, Rusthall; and the Chapel of St. John the Evangelist; Speldhurst (Tunbridge Wells, 1859)
W. Brackett, unnumbered pp., limp cloth.
185 hymns, first 69 in Christian year arrangement, then *Hymns for all Seasons and Morning and Evening. Index of first lines and table of hymns for special services.*

690. Hymns for the Use of St. Paul's, Oxford (Oxford, 1859)
[-], 250 pp.
208 hymns; index of first lines. Christian year arrangement.
691. Hymns for Use in Witley Church ([Godstone], 1859)
Godstone School Press, 49 pp., plain cloth limp.
Imperfect copy at British Library lacks pp 5-8, and several pages damaged. 50 hymns.
692. Hymns of Love and Joy (Bristol, 1859)
H. & T. Lane, 32 pp., paper.
Title page quotes Herbert 'As on a window late I rest mine eye'. 20 hymns.
693. Hymns, Selected for the Use of Sunday Schools: Particularly Those in Manchester and Salford and for Children of all Denominations (Manchester, 1859)
James Ainsworth, iv, 316, leather.
*'With a copious supplement.' (Title page).
407 hymns; index of first lines; table of subjects; most authors given. Much 18th C. material.*
694. Hymns Used in the Free Church, Great St. Charles Street
(Dublin, 1859)
5th ed., William Currie & Co., viii, 144.
Index of first lines as contents. No authors given.
695. J., E., The Holy War (by John Bunyan) Versified by E.J. (1859)
Robert Hardwicke, xviii, 66, embossed cloth gilt, 10s 6d.
With an introductory essay by Rev O.F. Owen. Adaptation in rhymed couplets.
696. KEBLE, John, The Christian Year (1859)
62nd ed., J.H. & J. Parker, 6s.
*Copy not located. Listed in Publishers' Circular for 1859.
See items 29, 123, 357, 527, 606, 785.*
697. Light in Life's Shadows; or Hymns for the Sorrowing (1859)
J. Haddon, viii, 168, 4s 6d.
*'The Editor was surprised to find, after examining very many books, how few Hymns were strictly available for the purposes contemplated...A large number, therefore,...are original.' (Preface)
110 hymns, no authors, index of first lines as contents.*
698. LLOYD, Charles Arthur Albany, The Christian Hymn-Book or Psalms and Hymns (1859)
4th ed., Wertheim, Macintosh & Hunt, unnumbered pp., limp cloth, 9d, 1s 6d.
*290 hymns. Index of first words, with authors; index of subjects. Adds 20 hymns to original edition. 2nd ed.: 1842.
Includes piece by Robert Montgomery.*

699. [LOWE, Richard T.], Hymns for the Christian Seasons
(Gainsburgh, 1859)
3rd ed., W.H. Caldicott, 151 pp., re-bound.
See items 286-87.
700. MACKENZIE, W.B., A Handbook for the Sick: A Selection of
Scripture Texts and Hymns (1859)
Seeley, Jackson & Halliday, x, 64, embossed cloth, 1s 6d.
'With an Address to the Sick and Afflicted.' (Title page)
Very large print; no authors. Includes Charlotte Elliott's
'Just as I am'.
701. MARTINEAU, James, Hymns for the Christian Church and Home
(1859)
Longman, xxxv, unnumbered pp, xxix.
See items 35, 127, 444, 610. 651 hymns.
702. MASON, J. & SHEPHERD, T., Spiritual Songs; or, Songs of Praise
to Almighty God Upon Several Occasions; to which is added
Penitential Cries [1859]
James Taylor, 183 and June 1859 catalogue of Large Type
Christian Library and Miscellaneous Works, 3s 6d.
1st ed: Spiritual Songs - 1683; Penitential Cries - 1692.
Printed from the original editions. Introduction to authors.
Date presumed from catalogue printed at end of volume.
703. MILTON, John, Paradise Lost (Halifax, 1859)
Milner and Sowerby, xiv, 239, cloth gilt.
Re-issue of item 448.
704. -----, Poems (1859)
2 vols., Chapman & Hall, xv, 454; vi, 486, leather.
With notes by Thomas Keightley. Index. Copy in CUL.
705. New Congregational Hymn Book: Psalms and Hymns for Divine
Worship [1859]
Jackson & Walford, unnumbered pp., 1s 6d, 4s.
1-251: psalms; 252-1000: hymns. Thematic arrangement.
Indexes of first lines, first line of every verse except the
first, subjects, occasions, peculiar metres, Scripture
texts, versions of the psalms. Much Watts; authors given.
Date of accession to BL: August 1859.
706. PEMBER, Edward Henry, Job: A Dramatic Poem (1859)
Longman, xi, 58, 24 pp catalogue of new works in general
literature, with classified index, 3s 6d.
Long verse dedication; blank verse work with lyric episodes.
707. Psalms and Hymns for the Use of the Chapel of the King's
School, Sherborne (Rugby, 1859)
Crossley & Billington, viii, 104, leather.
*Index of first lines; index to anthems.
Copy in CUL.*

708. Psalms and Hymns for the Use of the Congregation of Rugby School Chapel (Rugby, 1859)
Crossley & Billington, 152 pp.
With music on facing page. Index of first lines as contents.
Copy in Elias collection.
709. ROBERTSON, John [i.e. John Robert Seeley], David and Samuel with Other Poems Original and Translated (1859)
Seeley, Jackson & Halliday, x, 140, 3s 6d.
Title poem in blank verse; psalms; historic sketches and miscellaneous.
710. ROGERS, Charles, The Sacred Minstrel: A Collection of Spiritual Songs, with Biographical Sketches of the Authors (1859)
Houlston & Wright, xii, 278, 1 ad., embossed cloth, 3s 6d.
Index of authors; index of first lines. Includes work of Bailey, Barton, Bonar, Bowring, Eliza Cook, Mrs Hemans, Longfellow, Montgomery, Swain, Trench, Tupper, Wordsworth.
'Sacred songs have proved a solace to the sorrowful, and a comfort to the weary,...but there are few modern compositions worthy of the name.' (Preface) See item 711.
711. -----, 2nd ed. of above. (1859)
712. RUTHERFORD, George Stevenson de M., Lays of the Sanctuary (1859)
Hamilton, Adams, xxiv, 292, embossed cloth gilt, 7s 6d.
Previously published in private edition by Elizabeth Good, 'an aged widow' for whose benefit the collection was made. This edition bears name of editor, and layout slightly different. Also has list of authors as contents, whereas the earlier publication lists contents in order of appearance. Poets include Mary Howitt, Bonar, Keble, Frederick Tennyson, Tupper, Massey and Dobell. See item 811.
713. SCOTT, R.A., The Types: Abraham's Faith and Jonah's Deliverance, in English Metre (Sleaford, 1859)
Whittaker, 18 pp., paper, 2d.
'Meant for the Use of Schools.' (Title page)
Dedicated to the children of Cranwell School.
714. Selection of Hymns, A, Adapted to the Liturgical Services, the Fasts and Festivals, the Sacraments and Ordinances of the Church of England (St. Helens, 1859)
W. Foreman, 210 pp.
Copy in Elias collection.
715. Selection of Psalms and Hymns for Use in Public Worship or in Private and Family Devotions (1859)
J. & C. Mozley, 108 pp., [6d?].
97 hymns and a few psalms; all with biblical text. Index of first lines; no authors. Christian year arrangement.

716. SHARON, Joseph, a Poem [1859]
Ward & Co., 98 pp., cloth gilt, 2s 6d.
In quatrains; covers the shepherd, slave, prophet and ruler.
Illustrated. Date of BL accession.
717. SHEPPARD, John, The Christian Harp (1859)
Jackson & Walford, xvi, 275, 5s.
Designed as a companion volume to The Foreign Sacred Lyre
[see item 550]. In four parts:
I: suggested by objects viewed in travelling
II: Devotional
III: Miscellaneous
IV: Hymns and Translations
718. SMITH, Jeremiah, Psalms and Hymns adapted to the Services of the Church according to the Use of the United Church of England and Ireland, and also to Private Reading (1859)
8th ed., Wertheim, Macintosh & Hunt, lx, 312, 1s 6d.
Edited by C.H. Davis. Thematic; Part I- Psalms; Part II- Hymns.
Tables of appropriate psalms and hymns for Sunday services, holy days, occasional services. Lists churches in which used, and hymn book sources. First line index to psalms; first line index to hymns. See item 73.
719. Sunday Scholars' Companion, The (1859)
20th ed., improved, Thomas King, [iv], 88, embossed leather.
'Being a selection of hymns from various authors, for the use of Sunday Schools.' (Title page)
Index of first lines. Thematic arrangement.
720. [T, H.], One Hundred and Fifty Hymns for Public and Family Worship (Cork, 1859)
Religious Tract and Book Society, xx, 129.
See items 233, 393.
721. TURNER, Thomas, A Metrical Version of the Book of Psalms (1859)
Rivington, Part IV, 145-272, 1s.
See items 396, 472.
722. Ulster Revival Hymn Book (Belfast, 1859)
Phillips & Sons, 62 pp., paper, 2d.
Much emphasis on Jesus.
723. WAITE, J.J., Hymns for the Tunes in the Hallelujah Part 1 (1859)
John Snow, vii, 127.
'In twenty one varieties of metre, with canticles for the chants.' (Title page) *Copy in Elias collection.*
724. [WARNER, Anna], Hymns of the Church Militant (1859)
James Nisbet, vi, 640, 6s.
Editor identified in Preface. Index of first lines with authors. Much Wesley, Cowper, Watts.
'This is simply a book of hymns for private use... They are not fuller of trial than of consolation.' (Preface)

725. [WHITE, George C.], Introits and Hymns (1859)
7th ed., Masters, leather.
See items 160, 565.
726. WHITFIELD, Frederick, Sacred Poems and Prose (Dublin, 1859)
William Curry & Co., iv, 5-72, limp cloth, 6d.
Predominance of verse. Many poems about Jesus.
'Many of the following pieces... have appeared before the Public under the initials 'F.W.' They are the feeble utterances of a heart that has felt the preciousness of Christ,... I have written for Him, that is my reward.' (Preface)
727. [WIGLESWORTH, Esther], Hymns of the Holy Feast [1859]
J. Masters, 48 pp., paper.
Date of accession, BL. Author identified in BL catalogue.
'The profits of this little Book will be given towards the erection of a Mission Chapel and Infant School, (in connection with the Church of England), in one of the poorest and most densely populated parishes in Plymouth.'
(Title page) *Sequences on the Holy Communion.*
728. [WIGRAM, G.V.], A Few Hymns and Some Spiritual Songs Selected for the Little Flock (1859)
Groombridge, 9d.
Re-issue of item 476. See also 729.
729. -----, Hymns for the Poor of the Flock [1859]
Groombridge & Sons, xxii, unnumbered pp., 1s, 1s 6d.
1st ed.: 1838. Date from editorial notice on front fly-leaf.
377 hymns, plus 70 for special occasions and 40 in Appendix.
Index of first lines.
Editor's postscript (on fly-leaf at back): *'Through press of business and various other causes, two of my Hymn Books have run out of print; viz.:— first that long known as THE POOR OF THE FLOCK (1838) and secondly that which is now named FOR THE LITTLE FLOCK (1856). See items 476, 728.*
730. WILLIAMS, William, Hosannah to the Son of David, or Hymns of Praise to God for our Glorious Redemption by Christ, & Gloria in Excelsis; or Hymns of Praise to God and the Lamb (1859)
D. Sedgwick, xii, 45 and 73, 4s.
Works originally published in 1759 and 1772 respectively.
Indexes of first lines follow each work.
731. WINKWORTH, Catherine (trans.), A Selection of Hymns from the Lyra Germanica (1859)
Longman, x, 94, 5 ads., 1s.
Cheap selection of 53 hymns, edited by Bishop of Argyll.
Index of first lines. See items 403, 477, 568, 647.
732. Words of the Congregational Hymn and Tune Book (Bristol, 1859)
36th thousand, J. Wright, 72 pp., paper, 1d.
Cover and inside cover claim 36th thousand; title page 35th.
106 hymns, close printed. Begins with 'Dies Irae'.

733. Words to the Hymnal Noted and Additional Hymns as Used at S. Paul's Church, Brighton (Brighton, [1859])

A. Hawkins & Co., unnumbered pp, 2 ads., paper, 6d.

This volume contains just the Additional Hymns, nos. 115-223

Date of BL accession.

734. WYATT, Henry Herbert, Psalms and Hymns for Public Worship (1859)

John W. Parker, 240 pp., limp cloth, 1s.

Dedicated to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

2nd ed.: 1863; 4th ed.: 1868.

'30,000 hymns have been examined in the preparation of this collection.' (Preface)

No authors, but acknowledges translations of Caswall and Winkworth.

Index of first lines of Psalms; index of first lines of hymns. Calendar of hymns appropriate to various occasions.

1860

735. Additional Hymns for Use in the Church of S. John Evangelist.
Holborn [?1860]
 [no publisher], 47 pp., paper.
Suggested date: BL catalogue. Hymns 491-540. Index of first lines. Acknowledgement to C.F. Alexander for Christmas hymn, 'specially composed for this Appendix.'
Biblical text with each hymn.
736. ASTLEY, Charles T., Songs in the Night (1860)
 A.W. Bennett, xi, 210, 2 ads.
'Consisting of translations from the German, original hymns, meditations, and metrical versions of some few of the psalms, written chiefly during illness.' (Title page)
Profits of first edition to be divided between CMS and BFBS.
737. [B, J.], Thoughts in Verse for Christian Children (1860)
 2nd ed. enl., Hamilton, Adams & Co., 63 pp., limp cloth, 1s.
See item 652.
738. BEARD, John R., Sabbath Leisure; or, Religious Recreations in Prose and Verse (1860)
 Simpkin, cloth gilt, 5s.
See item 485.
739. BODE, J.E., Hymns from the Gospel of the Day, for Each Sunday and the Festivals of Our Lord (Oxford, 1860)
 J.H. Parker, xii, 67, 1s.
'The following Hymns were written for the purpose of being sung in my own Parish Church... I did not, however, feel in a position to publish them at once in a form suited for general use, and have therefore adopted the more hazardous process of ventilating them as a literary composition.'
(Preface) Table of contents, metres and tunes.
740. BOSANQUET, W.H., Fall of Man, or Paradise Lost of Caedmon (1860)
 Longman, xxxviii, 63, 24 pp catalogue, 5s.
'Translated in verse from the Anglo-Saxon, with a new metrical arrangement of the lines of part of the original text, and an introduction on the verse of Caedmon.' (Title page). *In rhyming couplets.*
741. [BULLOCKE, H.B.], A Selection of Hymns Adapted for the Service of the Church (Truro, 1860)
 James R. Netherton, 44 pp., paper.
64 hymns, presented in alphabetical order of first line. Table of hymns for particular occasions. Familiar material. Name of editor handwritten in BL copy.

742. BUNYAN, John, Profitable Meditations (1860)
 John Camden Hotten, xxi, 47, quarter leather.
'A poem written by John Bunyan whilst confined in Bedford Jail. Now first reprinted from a unique copy discovered by the publisher, and edited with introduction and notes by George Offor.' (Title page)
 1st ed.: 1661.
 Presented by Bunyan as a 'conference between Christ and a sinner.'
743. [C, I.P], The Sunday School Hymn Book (1860)
 11th thousand, Hamilton, Adams & Co, 310 pp.
'Arranged for use in I: The General School; II: The Infant Class; III: Teachers' Meetings.' (Title page)
 404 hymns; index of first lines, with authors. Much Watts and Montgomery, and some hymns by editor.
'A complete revision and re-construction' of the first edition of 1833 (Leeds Sunday School Union), which ran to thirty-eight thousand copies. (Advertisement)
 Editorial attribution: BL catalogue.
744. Catholic Hymnal : Hymns Selected for Public and Private Use
 [1860]
 Burns & Lambert, unnumbered pp., re-bound.
 181 hymns; index of first words. Julian's copy annotated with date and 'first edition'.
 Acknowledgement to Faber and Caswall.
745. CAYLEY, C.B., The Psalms in Metre (1860)
 Longman, xvi, 284, 24 pp catalogue, 6s.
 Includes list of subscribers.
746. Child and the Angel, The : A Ballad (Edinburgh, [1860])
 R. Grant & Son, 16 pp., paper.
 Date attributed in CUL catalogue. Copy in CUL.
'By the author of "The Daily Life of a Christian Child" and "Corporal Works of Mercy".' (Title page)
 Dedicated 'To my sister'. About death of child; spirit of child addresses mother and consoles her.
747. Christian Lyrics [1860?]
 Hamilton, Adams & Co., viii, 208, cloth gilt, 2s 6d.
'Chiefly selected from modern authors.' (Title page). BL copy acquired 1861. Attributed to ?Lucy Fletcher, afterwards Massey.
 Index of first lines. Includes work by Elizabeth Barrett Browning, A.A. Procter, C.F. Alexander, R.C. Trench, A.L. Waring, Longfellow, Montgomery, F. Hemans, Lyte.
'We have endeavoured to string together such Christian Lyrics as seem to us specially adapted to be the expression of home thoughts, and companions of everyday life.' (Preface)

748. Church Hymn Book, A (1860)
Charles Cull, 80 pp., paper.
Christian year arrangement; index of first lines.
749. Church Hymn Book (Derby, [c.1860])
John & Charles Mozley, xxv, 595, unnumbered Appendix.
'Being a collection of Psalms and Hymns chiefly designed for public worship.' (Title page) Index of subscribers, index of first lines, Texts of Scriptures. Thematic arrangement.
Predominance of 18th C. Suggested date: BL catalogue.
750. CLARK, Frank Foreman, The Convert, and Other Poems (1860)
Saunders, Otley & Co., iv, 116, 8 pp list of new publications.
5s.
Some biblical subjects. Title poem in quatrains.
751. Collection of Psalms and Hymns for Public Worship, A
(Hastings, 1860)
13th ed., E. Bowmer, iv, 186, 1s (large print 2s 6d).
1st ed.: 1836. Hymns 'already almost everywhere in use' (Preface). Index of first words; index of subjects.
752. Cottage Hymn Book, Suitable Both for Public Worship and Private Use (Dublin, [?1860])
P. Dixon Hardy & Sons, 128 pp.
157 hymns. Subject list; index of first lines.
Suggested date: BL catalogue.
753. [COTTERILL, Thomas], A Selection of Psalms and Hymns for Public Worship (1860)
New ed., Rivington.
See item 257. This edition not found. Listed in Bookseller, 1860.
754. COURTAULD, E. (ed), Psalms, Hymns and Anthems (1860)
E.T. Whitfield, vi, 464.
Index of first lines. Authors named at head of hymn.
'The first edition was printed solely for the High Garrett congregation, was limited in number, and not purchasable... In this new edition all the old hymns have been retained, but it has been enlarged by the addition of many new ones, collected from a great variety of sources. In compiling this Hymn-book my aim has been to make a collection of devotional poetry, suitable at once for public worship and private reading.' (Preface) *See item 173.*
755. CREWDSON, Jane, Lays of the Reformation, and Other Lyrics, Scriptural and Miscellaneous (1860)
Hatchard, v, 284, 32 pp catalogue for June 1859, 5s.
'In dealing with Bible subjects...it has been her aim to select, with a reverent hand, such subjects as the pen of inspiration has left in outline; rather than those which have been filled in detail.' (Preface)

756. [DARLING, Thomas], Hymns for the Church of England (1860)
Longman, unnumbered pp.
See items 501, 672.
757. DAVIS, Thomas, Family Hymnal (1860)
Hamilton, Adams & Co., 60 pp., limp cloth.
'Designed for domestic worship; suitable also for private devotion.' (Title page)
'A few of the hymns... appear now for the first time: the others are selected from the two volumes previously published by the Author, intitled Songs for a Month and Songs for the Suffering.' (Preface) *See items 342, 673.*
758. Dove Row Ragged School Hymn Book [?1860]
Partridge & Oakey (for SSU), 88 pp., paper boards, 2d.
Index of first lines; contents presented alphabetically by first line. Authors given. Suggested date: BL catalogue.
759. Dublin Hymn Book for Children, The (Dublin, [?1860])
Dublin Tract Repository, unnumbered pp.
238 hymns; index of first words; no authors.
Suggested date: BL catalogue.
760. Evangelist's Hymn Book: a Selection of Hymns for Use in Connection with the Preaching of the Gospel (1860)
G. Morrish, unnumbered pp.
343 hymns; index of first lines; no authors.
'Many have felt the need of a book specially adapted for use in connection with preaching to the unconverted... It is to meet this need, irrespective of sectarian distinctions... Many [hymns] are included which have only appeared before, in periodicals, or on single leaves.' (Preface)
761. EVANS, R.W., Daily Hymns (1860)
Joseph Masters, iv, 257, 1 ad.
'In a former publication issued under the title of 'A Day in the Sanctuary' [published 1843], the Author set forth a daily course of Hymns in a rhythmical form;...so strongly, however, have both ear and heart of the Church become attached to the prevalent usage of nearly fifteen centuries, that, upon turning his mind once again to the same quarter, and, as before, with a view to private and not ritual use, he has consulted a taste which though not formally Scriptural, is now becoming universally Ecclesiastical, and has adapted his composition to the metrical form.' (Preface)
762. EXTON, Richard Brudenell, A Century of Sonnets on Sacred Subjects (1860)
Bell & Daldy, 102 pp., 2s.
'An Offering for the Altar of the Christian's Closet.' (Title page) All concern Christ, from birth to Resurrection.
'prompted to its publication by the hope that it may prove beneficial to its readers, by leading them to a more frequent and earnest searching of the Holy Scriptures.' (Preface)

763. [FABER, F.W.], Hymn-Book of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri
[c.1860]
Burns, Lambert and Oates, x, unnumbered pp., limp cloth.
Includes Index for the Oratory Hymns and others by Father Faber.
90 hymns. 5th thousand: [c.1850] Suggested dating: BL catalogue.
764. FARNINGHAM, Marianne, Lays and Lyrics of the Blessed Life;
consisting of Light from the Cross and other Poems (1860)
Benjamin Lowe, xiii, 272, 3s 6d.
'If it but make 'The Blessed Life' more alluring to one undecided, or more pleasant and satisfying, even amid its difficulties, to one disciple of Jesus - then surely a portion of time redeemed from other mental engagements will not have been thus occupied in vain.' (Preface)
See Chapter 7.
765. Fifty-two Original Hymns for Teachers' Meetings (1860)
Joseph Reynolds, iv, 67, paper, 6d.
By a Superintendent.
'plain straightforward prose coming to the point with daily experiences, and versified with sufficient accuracy to fit existing tunes.' (Preface)
766. First and Last : A Poem (1860)
Longman, 259, 24 pp catalogue (Sept.1859), cloth gilt, 6s.
'Intended to illustrate the ways of God to Man.' (Title page)
Rhymed couplets: story of Adam and Eve, to Adam's vision of coming of Christ.
767. FIRTH, Richard, The Psalms of David (1860)
Hatchard, iv, 25, 1 ad., paper, 6d.
'Translated from the Hebrew into blank verse, for chanting.
Part I - The First Five Days.' (Title page)
768. [FOSBERY, T.V.], Hymns for Public Worship [1860]
SPCK, 48 pp, 1 ad., paper, 1d, 2d.
Suggested date: BL catalogue. See items 188, 269, 510, 594, 678.
769. FOWLER, Henry, A Selection of Hymns for the Use of Spiritual Worshippers (1860)
Simpkin, 3s.
See item 14. This issue not traced.
770. [G, A.K.B.], The Divine Hymnal: a Collection of Hymns of Direct Homage for the Use of the Church (1860)
Rivington, xi, 194, 1s.
Preface initialled A.K.B.G.
Editor identified in BL catalogue as A.K.B. Granville.
Tables of hymns for different occasions; passages of Scripture; index to subjects; index of first lines, with authors. Much 18th C. material.
771. HARLAND, Edward, A Church Psalter and Hymnal (1860)
Routledge, unnumbered pp., re-bound, 4d, 1s.
134th thousand. 209 hymns. See item 517.

772. Holy Family Hymns (1860)
Richardson, xvi, 187.
With the approbation of His Eminence Cardinal Wiseman. Index of first lines; contents thematically arranged.
Much Faber and Caswall.
773. HOOD, Edwin Paxton, Our Hymn Book (1860)
Published at the Vestry, Offord Road Chapel, 212 pp, re-bound.
'Prepared for the use of the congregation and Sabbath Schools of Offord Road Chapel.' (Title page)
260 hymns; thematic arrangement; index of first words.
Another volume under this title was published in 1862, for another church, with some differences in material.
774. HULL, John Dawson, Hymns and Spiritual Songs for All Hours (Original) (1860)
rev. and enl. ed., Ward & Co, xii, 238, 6 ads., 3s 6d.
1st ed.: 1844. Dedicated to Duchess of Gordon.
Thematic arrangement. Copy in CUL.
775. Hymn Book of the United Presbyterian Church (Edinburgh, [c.1860])
William Oliphant & Co., 399 pp., re-bound.
468 hymns, plus doxologies.
Index of topics; index of Scripture passages; index of first lines, with authors. Predominance of Watts, Montgomery.
Charlotte Elliott's 'Just as I am' wrongly attributed to McCheyne. Suggested date : BL catalogue.
776. Hymns Adapted to Public Worship, Intended as a Supplement to the Psalmody of the Church of Scotland (Dublin, 1860)
William Leckie, iv, unnumbered pp.
149 hymns; index of first lines; no authors.
'In all of them it will be found that Gospel truth is embedded in simple and appropriate language.' (Preface)
777. Hymns Adapted to the Church Services throughout the Christian Year, with a Selection of Metrical Psalms (1860)
2nd ed., Simpkin, Marshall, unnumbered pp., 1s, 1s 6d.
1st ed.: 1850. Index of first words; tables of Seasons, Use throughout the Year, tunes. Designed to 'help the aspirations of the solitary worshipper, or minister to the sweet pieties of the Christian home.' (Preface)
778. Hymns and Prayers Selected and Arranged for Missionary Meetings (1860)
Church Missionary House, [vi], 56, limp cloth.
44 hymns; index of first lines.
Published in two parts separately, so hymns obtainable 'in cheaper form' : 1d.
779. Hymns for Public and Private Use (Dublin, [1860])
Dublin Tract Repository, unnumbered pp., embossed leather.
402 hymns, index of first words; no authors.
Date of accession to BL.

780. Hymns for the Year. A Complete Collection for Schools, Missions and Parochial Use [?1860]
Lambert & Co., unnumbered pp., re-bound.
251 hymns. Index of first lines. No authors given, but an acknowledgement to Caswall and Faber, who provide most of the contents. Suggested date: BL catalogue.
781. Hymns for Use in the Services of the Church (Wakefield, 1860)
Hicks & Allen, 92 pp, re-bound.
Christian year arrangement; no authors; index of first lines.
782. Hymns in Aid of Private Devotion (1860)
Bosworth & Harrison, 24 pp., paper.
12 hymns, annotated with marginal biblical references, and supplementary notes.
783. Hymns Used at Canons Ashby (Daventry, 1860)
Thomas Barrett, unnumbered pp., re-bound.
39 hymns; no other information.
784. JENKINSON, J., The Universality and Unchangeableness of Jehovah's Laws. A Poem (Oakham, 1860)
Simpkin & Marshall, 16 pp., re-bound, 3d.
Covers physical, chemical, organic, mental, economic and social, and moral laws. In rhyming couplets.
785. [KEBLE, John], The Christian Year (1860)
63rd ed., J.H. & J. Parker, 3s 6d.
Copy not located. Listed in Publishers' Circular for 1860.
See items 29, 123, 357, 527, 606, 696.
786. -----, Lyra Innocentium: Thoughts in Verse on Christian Children, Their Ways and Their Privileges (Oxford, 1860)
8th ed., J.H. & J. Parker, xii, 214.
See items 30, 283.
Index of first lines. Copy in Elias collection.
787. [KENNEDY, B.H.], The Psalter, or Psalms of David in English Verse (Cambridge, 1860)
Deighton, Bell & Co, xxii, 271, 16 pp catalogue.
'By a Member of the University of Cambridge.' (Title page)
Author's name pencilled in to Elias collection copy.
788. Kerry Hymn Book, The (Tralee [?1860])
Kerry Evening Post, unnumbered pp., paper.
163 hymns, index of first words. No authors; familiar material. Suggested date: BL catalogue.
789. [KINGSBURY, Thomas L.], Hymns &c (Marlborough, [?1860])
W.W. Lucy, 24 pp., paper.
Earlier version of Hymns and Hymn Verses by T.L. Kingsbury
BL date for later title [1894]. Suggested date: BL catalogue. Mostly missionary in emphasis.

790. L[ILLINGSTON], J.B.J., Glimpses of Sunlight (Bath, [1860])
 Binns & Goodwin, unnumbered pp, 1 ad.
18 poems, mostly religious. Author identified in BL catalogue. BL copy has March 1860 accession date.
791. Lyra Christiana (Edinburgh, [1860])
 John Maclaren, xiii, 336, 2s 6d.
Contains 'Mont Blanc Revisited' by John Ruskin, according to inscription in BL copy 'published here for the first time as a contribution to the present volume.'
Index of first lines. Wide range of material from 15th C. to contemporary, including work by Wordsworth, Mrs Sigourney, and Elizabeth Barrett Browning. Date of accession to BL.
792. M, M.K., Thoughts for Quiet Hours (1860)
 Hamilton, Adams & Co., iv, 76.
Emphasis on following Christ, heaven, and Church services. 'Decidedly good. They divide into two classes; those addressed to children, and those put as nearly as may be in children's own words.' [Guardian, June 27 1860.]
793. MACREADY, Catherine Frances B., Leaves from the Olive Mount (1860)
 Chapman & Hall, 136 pp., 5s.
'In prefixing the title to this little volume, the Author is desirous of disclaiming all pretension to dogmatic assumption, having made use of it simply in allusion to the religious sentiment pervading the following poems.' (Note)
794. MASKELL, Eliza, Gospel Themes: A Series of Sacred Poems on Gospel Subjects [1860]
 Wertheim, Macintosh & Hunt, 59 pp, 2 ads., 1s.
Contains 'Massacre of Bethlehem', a sacred drama. New Testament inspired material, largely on ministry of Christ. Accession date to BL.
795. MILLS, John Henry, A Selection of Sacred Poetry for Private and Congregational Use (1860)
 Hughes & Butler, 62 pp, 1 ad.
First half devoted to words. Index of first lines and tunes. Some authors identified. Include Wesley, Watts. Copy in CUL.
796. MONTGOMERY, James, Poems (1860)
 Routledge, Warne and Routledge, [xvii], 380.
'Selected and edited by Robert Aris Willmott. Illustrated with one hundred designs by Birket Foster, J. Wolf, John Gilbert, etc., engraved by the brothers Dalziel.' (Title page)
797. -----, Poetical Works [c.1860]
 Gall and Inglis, xxii, 456, cloth gilt.
With a memoir and eight engravings on steel. Suggested date: BL catalogue.

798. M[ORGAN], A[rthur] M[idlemore], The Church in Babylon and Other Poems (1860)
Joseph Masters, 27 pp., paper, 1s.
Title poem is verse drama in blank verse. Set 3 days after events in Daniel 3. Also blank verse piece on Elijah. Identity of author from BL catalogue.
799. MORRIS, F.O., The Yorkshire Hymn-Book (1860)
Longman, 122 pp., 8d.
165 hymns; index of first lines. Christian year arrangement. 'Such as are of a didactic, declarative, or narrative description have been almost entirely excluded ... such also as contain words not likely to be understood by the majority of most congregations, have been omitted.' (Preface)
800. NEWTON, J., Olney Hymns [c.1860]
Richard Griffin, lx, 63-388.
With introductory essay by James Montgomery. Tables to first lines, biblical references and subjects. Suggested date: BL catalogue.
801. [OFFORD, J], Hymns for United Meetings, Public and Social Prayer, Cottage and Outdoor Preaching, Revival Meetings, etc. [1860]
Wertheim, Macintosh & Hunt, unnumbered pp., paper, 2d.
Editor identified in Preface, dated 1860. 134 hymns, alphabetical arrangement by first line. 'From Christian writers of all classes.' (Preface)
802. One Hundred and Forty-four Hymns Adapted for Sunday Schools and Families [1860]
G. Morrish, 152 pp.
144 hymns, index of first lines. Date of accession to BL.
803. Original Hymns for Maternal Meetings [1860]
2nd ed., Piper & Co, vii, 78, paper.
1st ed: ?1858. Introduction dated 1858. Accession date to BL: 1860. Introduction by Rev. W. Carus-Wilson.
Hymns by the author of 'The Folded Lambs, or First Fruits of the Term Mission'. Introduction indicates author is female. Index of subjects.
804. OUTIS, H., Sabbath Haltings in Life's Wilderness, or Sacred Poems for Every Sunday in the Year (1860)
Sampson Low, Son & Co, xii, 180..
'I am venturing upon ground not only preoccupied, but most successfully maintained, by the Author of the 'Christian Year'... Taking my key-note from the Church of England, I have addressed my song to the whole Church of Christ.' (Introduction)
805. Paraphrases and Hymns for Congregational Singing [?1860]
J. Wertheimer & Co, 87 pp.
Biblical references. Suggested date: BL catalogue.

806. PHILLIPS, Edward Andrew, The Vision of the Cross and Other Poems (1860)
Hatchard, iv, 123, 32 pp catalogue (June 1860), cloth gilt, 4s.
Title poem described as 'an allegorical poem', in blank verse.
From Garden of Childhood the Paths of Life all lead to to Valley of Death, via Unbelief and Despair. Saved by Penitence, refuge in Rock of Ages.
807. Rays of Sunlight for Dark Days (Cambridge, 1860)
Macmillan, xi, 171, cloth gilt.
With preface by Charles John Vaughan.
2nd ed.: 1861; 3rd ed.: 1863; 4th ed.: 1864; 5th ed.: 1872;
Re-printed 1874. Anthology of prose and verse. Many very short extracts. Includes verse by A.A. Procter, Crabbe, Wordsworth, Longfellow, Trench, Waring, extracts from The Dove on the Cross, Lyra Apostolica, Lyra Germanica.
808. ROBERTS, Ellen, Heathen Fables in Christian Verse (1860)
J. Nisbet, viii, 156, 4 ads.
'Chiefly designed for the young.' (Dedication)
Versions of Aesop: 'attempts to make the parables of human wisdom speak Christian language, and inculcate Christian truths.' (Preface) Only tenuously Christian.
809. ROBINSON, J., The Parochial Hymn-Book, for the Use of the Church of England (Oxford, 1860)
J.H. & J. Parker, viii, 335.
Index of first lines; index of texts. Material chosen to fit '1. A scriptural tone of doctrine...
2. A poetical character of thought and expression...
3. Suitableness for congregational use.' (Preface)
810. RUSSELL, Joshua, The Christian Sabbath etc. (1860)
2nd ed., Houlston and Stoneman, 5s.
See item 226. This edition not traced.
811. RUTHERFORD, G.S. de M., Lays of the Sanctuary and Other Poems (1860)
Hamilton, Adams and Co., xxiv, 292.
See item 712..
812. RYLE, J.C., Hymns for the Church on Earth (Ipswich, 1860)
William Hunt, xvi, 406, 8 pp catalogue December 1860, of works by Ryle, re-bound, 4s.
'Being three hundred hymns and spiritual songs (for the most part of modern date)' (Title page) 2nd ed.: 1861. Biblical reference prefaces each hymn; some authors given.
Index of first lines.
813. [Sacred Songs for Home and School] [c.1860]
Bremner & Co/Pitman, 145, 1 ad., paper, 2d.
BL copy has title page missing. Title on cover. Thematic arrangement; minute print closely printed; index of first words; few authors given. Date: BL catalogue.

814. SAMPSON, Mrs Theophilus Graham, Christian Virtues (1860)
Bell & Daldy, xii, 68, cloth gilt, 2s 6d.
'To give due prominence to the chief Christian virtues, and by humble attempts in verse to enforce the cultivation of them.' (Preface)
Faith, Hope, Charity, Love, Patience, Meekness and Gentleness, Courage, Temperance, Purity, Justice, Peace, Honesty, Truth, Humility, Mercy, Obedience, Endurance and Long-suffering, Reverence, Zeal, Watchfulness and Vigilance. Biblical reference precedes each piece.
815. SCOBELL, Edward, Psalms and Hymns Selected and Adapted to the Purposes of Public Worship (1860)
6th ed., Whittaker, 1s 6d.
1st ed.: 1836; 5th ed: 1846. (Published W.J. Cleaver). Latter edition inspected. 6th ed. untraced. Listed in Publishers' Circular.
816. SEAGRAVE, Robert, Hymns and Spiritual Songs for Christian Worship (1860)
Daniel Sedgwick, viii, 50, 2 ads, viii (Appendix), 2s.
New edition, with a sketch of his life and writings.
1st ed.: 1742. 50 hymns. Appendix: 'A Comprehensive Index of Names of Original Authors and Translators of Psalms and Hymns', by Daniel Sedgwick.
817. Select Hymns for the Gospel [1860]
G. Morrish, unnumbered pp., paper, 2d.
40 hymns. Date of accession in BL.
818. Selection of Psalms and Hymns from Various Authors. A. Intended Chiefly for Public Worship (1860)
New ed., Bradbury & Evans, vii, 297.
1st ed.: 1836. Index of subjects, index of authors. Much Watts. Appendix, with index to subjects only.
Copy in Elias collection.
819. [SMITH, J. Denham], Times of Refreshing (Dublin, 1860)
Eight hundredth thousand, S.W.Partridge & Co, unnumbered pp., 2d, 4d, 2s, 3s.
'Hymns sung at the special services.' (Title page)
1st ed. also 1860. [Untraced] This 'new and enlarged.' 217 hymns. Index of first words. Author's name on Preface.
Copy in Elias collection.
820. SMITH, Samuel Alexander, A Collection of Pieces in Prose and Poetry Suitable for Recital in Sabbath Schools (Manchester, [1860])
John Heywood, iv, 96; 97-192, paper, 6d per part.
Mainly moralising verse. Date of accession to BL.

821. [SPERLING, John H., ed.], The Village Hymnal (Birmingham, 1860)
 Charles Caswell, unnumbered pp., limp cloth.
100 hymns. Editor identified in signed Notice: 'this Hymnal is the result of a need long felt in an Agricultural Parish ...strictly confined to Hymns of Praise and Prayer, in plain English, and simple metre, following the order of the Christian seasons.'
Index of first lines; index of subjects as contents page.
822. SPITTA, C.J.P., Lyra Domestica: Christian Songs for Domestic Edification (1860)
 Longman, xv, 142, 2 ads., embossed cloth, 4s 6d.
Translated from the 'Psaltery and Harp' of C.J.P. Spitta by Richard Massie (from German).
2nd ed.: 1861; 3rd ed.: 1862; 2nd series, 1864.
823. STOWELL, Hugh, The Pleasures of Religion and Other Poems (Manchester, [?1860])
 New and enl. ed., William Bremner, vi, 108, 1s 6d, 2s 6d.
1st ed.: 1832. Title poem (in rhyming couplets) occupies half the volume. Religious themes in many of the other poems. Date: BL catalogue.
824. TAYLOR, Ann and Jane, Hymns for Infant Minds (1860)
 45th ed., Jackson & Walford, x, 144, 2 ads.
See items 78, 152, 310, 470, 638.
825. TOPLADY, Augustus M., Hymns and Sacred Poems, on a Variety of Divine Subjects, Comprising the Whole of the Poetical Remains (1860)
 Daniel Sedgwick, xiv, 175, 1 ad., 4s 6d.
With a sketch of his life and poetry. Comprises Poems on Sacred Subjects (1759).
826. -----, The Spirit of Adoption: Hymns of the Maturer Years (Montrose, 1860)
 2nd thousand, George Walker, viii, 40, paper, 6d.
With biographical notice.
827. TUPPER, Martin F., Proverbial Philosophy (1860)
 37th ed., Arthur Hall, Virtue & Co., 5s, 8s.
Copy not located. Listed in Publishers' Circular for 1860.
See items 82, 153, 237, 312, 471, 558-59.
828. -----, Three Hundred Sonnets (1860)
 Arthur Hall, Virtue & Co, viii, unnumbered pp, 24 pp catalogue, embossed cloth.
Large print, one sonnet per page, each numbered. Several on biblical subjects, plus moral and occasional verse.
Copy in CUL.

829. United Prayer Meeting Hymn Book [1860]
 Henry James Tresidder, unnumbered pp.
'Designed for the Use of Christians of all Denominations.'
 (Title page) 190 hymns. Index of subjects, index of first
 lines. Contents in alphabetical order.
 Date of accession to BL.
830. [WARD, Arthur Hawkins?], Hymns for the Services of the Church,
 and for Private Devotion (Bristol, [1860])
 H.W. Drake, xii, 181.
Crest of Church of St. Raphael's, Bristol on title page.
Copy in Elias collection. Elias catalogue attributes to Ward,
and to 1860. Copy bears an inscription dated 1862.
831. WARDLAW, Ralph, A Selection of Hymns for Public Worship
 (Edinburgh, 1860)
 13th ed., A. Fullarton, 390 pp.
 1st ed.: 1803; 12th ed: 1847.
Indexes of first lines and subjects.
832. W[ARING], A.L., Hymns and Meditations (1860)
 8th ed., Alfred William Bennett, 109 pp, 1 ad., embossed cloth.
See items 157, 313, 398, 473, 561, 644, 645.
833. WATTS, Isaac, Divine and Moral Songs in Easy Language, for
 the Use of Children [c.1860]
 William Tegg, viii, 69, re-bound.
Suggested date: BL catalogue.
834. -----, Divine Songs attempted in Easy Language for
 the Use of Children [1860]
 SPCK, 72 pp., paper.
835. WINCHILSEA, Earl of (George James Finch Hatton), The Poem of
 the Book of Job Done into English Verse (1860)
 Smith & Elder & Co., xx, 175, cloth gilt, 10s.
In ballad metre. Author also wrote under former title,
Viscount Maidstone.
Poem in two parts, of 30 cantos each.
836. WOLFE, Arthur, Hymns for Public Worship (Cambridge, 1860)
 Macmillan, unnumbered pp., 2s.
 350 hymns. Christian year arrangement, with additional
 sections for schools, family worship, special occasions.
 Index of first lines, with authors.
*'to be used alike by all sections of the English Church...
 great care has been taken to exclude all such as appeared
 to be marked by a sectarian spirit.'* (Preface)

ADDENDA

(These items were located after the main Appendix was completed.
They are not included in the statistical analysis in Appendix C.)

1851

837. BRAITHWAITE, George, Sonnets and Other Poems (1851)
Hamilton, 2s 6d.

838. TUPPER, M.L., A Dozen Ballads for the Times, about Church Abuses
(1851)

T. Bosworth, 31 pp., 6d.

Reprinted, with additions, from the Daily Mail.

1853

839. Alphabet of Animals Designed to Impress Children with Affection
for the Brute Creation [1853]

Book Society for Promoting Religious Knowledge Among the Poor,
32 pp.

Copy in CUL. Date : CU catalogue.

1854

840. HANKINSON, Thomas E., Poems (1854)

4th ed., Hatchard, 406, 2 ads, 32 pp catalogue.

See items 18, 844.

1858

841. D[EWHRST], J[ane], Poems (1858)

3rd ed., T.Philpott, iv, 58 and list of subscribers.

*The third edition of The Sabbath and Other Poems. See items
419, 420. One poem is added here, but later issues of this
edition added a further four poems.*

842. HORTON, T.G., Gethsemane and Other Poems (1858)

2nd ed., Judd & Glass, 270 pp.

See item 520.

1859

843. BORTHWICK, Jane and J. Findlater, Hymns from the Land of Luther
[nd] 8th thousand, W.P. Kennedy, 204 pp.

*Contains all three series. BL catalogue lists this item as 1859.
See items 247, 323.*

1860

844. HANKINSON, Thomas E., Poems (1860)

5th ed., Hatchard & Co., 406, 2 ads and 32 pp catalogue.

See items 18, 840.

845. Songs of the Soul (1860)

3rd ed., Lockwood & Co.

See item 466.

APPENDIX C

PIETY IN THE MARKETPLACE : FACTS AND FIGURES

In a letter of 1842 to an acquaintance who worked for the publisher Longman, James Montgomery pointed out the fact that verse was not a profitable area of the market:

You must be aware, however, from your long connection with my friends Messrs Longman & Co. that poetry is the most unmarketable of all commodities in which they deal. The greatest reward that the rhymers can now expect must be the gratification of exercising a noble talent, however small, and communicating some delight to candid readers.¹

Sunday verse, as a specialized corner of such a market, might be expected to be even more 'unmarketable.' However, the details offered in this appendix serve to demonstrate that Sunday verse was a commercial proposition for publishers, and could provide a steady source of income for writers and publishers alike. Montgomery's pessimism here was no doubt governed at least in part by the wish to dissuade Reader's daughter from expecting success with a 'little Volume of Poems'. Montgomery was certainly viewed by Longman as a marketable writer. Quietly steady sales are reflected in the publisher's records of Montgomery's publications.

It may be considered surprising to find reference to James Montgomery in a work on Victorian verse. His royal pension for services to literature was granted in 1835. However, in the context of Victorian Sunday verse Montgomery has a significant role. Readers, editors and critics alike promoted his verse well after his own life-time. Montgomery was born in 1771 and died on 30 April 1854. Much of his poetic output belongs to the pre-Victorian period, yet he was a prominent figure in the poetry columns of mid-Victorian periodicals, for both adults and children, and as late as 1853 published a collection of original hymns, containing what many regarded as his

best work. In his preface to this collection, Montgomery described it as 'the most serious work of my long life.' It is as a hymnist that Montgomery has survived into the twentieth century, rather than as a poet. 'Angels from the realms of glory' and 'Hail to the Lord's anointed' probably represent the best known of his hymns today.

It is very much as 'the Christian poet' that Montgomery is revered by mid-Victorian readers and critics. It is apparent to the modern reader that his status - over-rated to our present day taste - owes much to his tone of simple and remarkably direct assurance. There is an openness and lack of uncertainty, a thoroughly traditional reflection of Christianity as an essentially God-given, Christ-driven religion. On Montgomery's death, the Evangelical Magazine published a tribute in the July issue of 1854. The writer (the article is signed 'W') believes Montgomery will be universally mourned for 'his name was a household word ... His poems were in every library. His Hymns and Lyrical effusions charmed and benefited young and old.' The sense of loss is heightened for the writer by the 'vacuum' created in the world of hymn writing and sacred lyrics, for, he claims:

It is not often that we have a Christian poet rising among us who can pen such exquisite Hymns and sacred Lyrics, as James Montgomery was enabled to produce, and which have yielded unmingled instruction and delight, even to millions; inspiring and heightening the strains of multitudes in the Christian church, feeding the minds and warming the hearts of thousands in their closets and retired chambers, and ministering the richest support and consolation to numbers of the children of God lying on the bed of sickness, and anticipating a speedy entrance into the world beyond the grave.²

The first four volume Poetical Works was published in 1828 by Longman. A new edition in four volumes appeared in 1841. In 1855 this was officially re-issued at 7s 6d per volume, with the comment in Notes on Books (1855) that 'since that time [1840] it has been frequently reprinted.' The records in fact suggest this is something

of an exaggeration, quite apart from the error with the publication date. This announcement went on to claim, somewhat unrealistically, that it was now 'at a price better fitted for popular circulation.'³ The issuing of a one-volume edition at 3s 6d in 1850 was much better designed to meet such a need. The following tables, based on information from Longman's ledgers, summarize the print runs and sales figures and demonstrate the degree of commercial success Montgomery enjoyed.

Poetical Works (4 volumes)

Date	Print				Sales			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
1841	2500	2000	2000	2000				
1842					1010	950	914	907
1843					161	169	164	167
1844					147	167	146	150
1845					127	135	123	126
1846					138	140	139	140
1847					110	115	106	109
1848					118	119	115	119
1849					91	96	82	85
1850					72	68	68	64
1851					24	33	31	33
1852			250	250	21	25	19	22
1853					59	57	54	53
1854		500	250	250	30	38	33	35
1855	250				212	171	167	163
1856					110	120	111	119
1857					55	56	51	46
1858					35	41	31	40
1859				250	39	40	43	41
1860					34	34	34	31
1861			250		24	21	22	22
1862					10	9	12	5
1863					12	16	8	18
1864					4	6	5	4
1865					2	3	2	3
1866					10	10	10	10
1867					7	7	7	7
1868					2	2	2	2
1869					2	1	1	1
1870						wasted		
Totals	2750	2500	2750	2750	2666	2649*	2400	2522

* A curious discrepancy. Perhaps inaccurate book-keeping? There are other examples of such discrepancies.

Poetical Works (1 volume)			Original Hymns	
Date	Print	Sales	Print	Sales
1850	2000	662		
1851		473		
1852		250		
1853		320	1000	496
1854	1000	269		60
1855		428		30
1856		216		9
1857		221		17
1858	250	106		7
1859		132		10
1860	250	101		11
1861		93		8
1862		25		7
1863				9
1864		18		5
1865		16		7
1866		11		0
1867		19		
1868		13		
1869		3		
1870		5		
1871	Remaindered			
Totals	3500	3381	1000	676

(Note: the Longman accounting year runs from June to June, so the figures actually reflect the mid-year sales position.)

Although modest, these sales figures should be viewed in relation to other Sunday reading titles on Longman's list. Calvert's Pneuma (10s 6d), Collins' Fall of Man (7s 6d) and Pember's Job (3s 6d) illustrate less successful ventures:

Date	Pneuma		Fall of Man		Job	
	Print	Sales	Print	Sales	Print	Sales
1856	750	114	518	44		
1857		40				
1858		10		50		
1859		20		1	500	49
1860	[loss £11.13.3]			30		6
1861			[wasted]			1
1862					[1 returned, 408 burnt]	
Totals	750	184	518	125	500	56

There were more profitable titles, indeed some notable successes, such as Catherine Winkworth's Lyra Germanica (5s), an anthology of translations of German hymns and devotional verse. This was a lucrative publication for both translator and publisher. The First Series appeared in 1855 at 5s, and the success of this volume prompted the Second Series (also 5s) in 1858. The First Series remained in popular demand, and a cheap Selection from both volumes (1s) was made by the Bishop of Argyll in 1859.

The First Series began with a print run of 1000 in August 1855; by December a further run of 2000 was made. Thereafter, copies were reprinted as follows:

1856	1000
1857	2500
1858	3500
1859	3000
1860	3000
1862	2500
1863	1000
1865	1000
1866	1000
1867	1000
1869	1000
1873	1000

The Second Series had a similarly impressive publishing history, and the publisher's agreement with Winkworth for this volume was for £40 per 1000 sold, reducing to £20 in 1866, following the price reduction to 3s 6d. This was a generous agreement in percentage terms; the royalty was more often a standard 10% than the 16% offered here.

Date	Print	Sales
1858	3000	
1859	2000	607
1860	2000	1765
1861	2000	1409
1862	2000	1293
1863		1181
1864		786
1865	500	679
1866		385
1867		477 (price reduced to 3s 6d)
1868	1000	437
1869		352
1870		281
1871	1000	306
1872		299
1873		241
1874		274
1875		all sold
Totals	13500	10772

(The 'all sold' is mystifying in view of the figures. Once again it seems that the record keeping was not perfect.)

Argyll's cheap selection, 'valuable for use among the poorer classes and for distribution in districts and schools',⁴ had a print run of 5000 copies during 1859-60. In 1873 this title was wasted, after selling 3982 copies. At the other end of the market, there was a handsomely illustrated edition, the illustrations for which were done by Leighton for a fee of £700. This sold in different bindings for between one and two guineas. From December 1860 to November 1867 9000 copies of this edition were printed. As was common, this volume was dated 1861, although it was published in December 1860 to catch the Christmas market.

In 1875, a new one-volume edition of both First and Second Series was issued in modest numbers:

	Date	Print	Sales
	1875	500	
	1876	500	447
	1877	500	390
	1878		259
	1879	500	360
Totals		2000	1456

An alternative style of financial agreement to that made with Winkworth was a half profits agreement, whereby 'no Profits shall be accounted as made until the said Messrs. Longman & Co. shall have been reimbursed all the said charges'. Thereafter, the 'Profits remaining ... are to be divided into two equal parts.'⁵ Such were the terms under which J.S.B. Monsell published Spiritual Songs (4s 6d) and Fosbery Hymns and Poems (1853). Both these titles were steady sellers throughout the century. Monsell's income from his work over a ten year period was as follows:

Spiritual Songs (Fourth edition)			
Date	Print	Sales	Payment
1864	1500	224	
1865		785	£ 8.18. 4d
1866		409	£25. 2. 4d
1867	2000	386	£17. 9. 1d
1868		294	
1869		311	£ 3.14. 2d
1870		249	£12.10. 9d
1871		248	£15. 3. 4d
1872		268	£15.19.10d
1873		204	£12.13. 1d
1874		187	£11. 8. 5d
1875		119	£ 7. 0. 7d
		wasted	
Totals		3500	3684

(Yet again the figures do not balance. Perhaps surviving copies of the earlier edition have crept into the sales records.)

It can be seen that the expenses of reprinting cause a sharp decline in income temporarily. In 1875 Monsell's volume was brought out in an enlarged edition ('ninth thousand') at 5s and 2s, with 1500 copies printed of the 5s volume and 2000 of the 2s volume by 1883.

Fosbery's Hymns and Poems (1853) reached a tenth edition in 1890, and was still selling in 1898. Darling's Hymns for the Church of England, like many hymn books, was produced for a variety of readers in different formats and prices, from 6d to 6s. The cheap 6d edition was added in 1863.

A third form of publishing agreement was the straight purchase of copyright for a single payment, such as the £100 Routledge paid to Robert Aris Willmott for editing English Sacred Poetry (1862), in advance of the work's completion.

The outstanding success of the period for Longman was undoubtedly Lyra Germanica, which continued selling to the end of the century. This collection, according to its publicity was 'arranged according to the seasons of the Christian year, in order to facilitate the use of the work as a manual of private devotion.'⁶ The influence of Keble's Christian Year is often in evidence in such collections. It may seem surprising that Keble's name does not figure more prominently in Appendix B, in view of the reported sales figures for Christian Year. According to Parker's figures quoted in Pusey's Preface to Keble's Occasional Papers and Reviews (1877), between 1848 and 1857 nineteen so-called editions, amounting to 63,000 copies were printed. A further 60 editions were produced from 1858 to 1867, totalling 119,500 copies.⁷ In spite of these impressive figures, it remains true that only two editions of the Christian Year have been traced for the bibliography of the period 1851-60. Indeed, the English Catalogue has only four listings in this period, whilst the Publishers' Circular

records seven separate listings over the same years, from the 36th edition in 1851 to the 63rd in 1860. The discrepancy between 'edition' numbers and entries is considerable. Advertisements for the title are regular features in the trade journals, but it is often impossible to determine separate editions. Indeed, most of the supposed editions are merely additional impressions in different formats. As with hymn books, Keble's work was produced in an enormously varied range of bindings and prices, including the luxury end of the market, where pricing is in guineas rather than shillings.

A study of the names recurring in the bibliography in Appendix B is interesting. The following tables summarize the most frequently published and re-printed writers:

A. Contemporary writers with more than three items in Appendix B

Martin F. Tupper	14
Cecil Frances Alexander	11
John Keble	10
Robert Montgomery	10
Anna Letitia Waring	8
James Montgomery	7
Horatius Bonar	5
Catherine Winkworth (tr.)	5
Jane Euphemia Browne	4
Charlotte Elliott	4

(Note: excluding editors of standard hymnals, much reprinted.
See Cooke & Denton, Fosbery, Hall, Martineau and Neale.)

B. Earlier writers with more than three items in Appendix B

Cowper	18
Milton	17
Watts	15
Herbert	9
Ann and Jane Taylor	6

Tupper's pre-eminence in table A is perhaps not entirely surprising; Proverbial Philosophy sold most busily in the 1850s,⁸ and was regarded as suitably serious and even devout reading. Not all Tupper's publications can be so easily justified as Sunday reading, though his loyal readers seemed ready to accord them similar attention. As H.W. Garrod proclaimed, 'the poet's poet he never was. But certainly he was the bookseller's poet.'⁹

C.F. Alexander's status is much more clearly supported both by the nature and the variety of all her publications. She is represented by seven different titles whereas Tupper is represented by five.

The fact that five of the ten writers in table A are women provides interesting support of their activity and success in this field in the Victorian period, particularly when set against table B with only one in five names from earlier periods. A comparison with the eighteenth century emphasizes the point further. H. Grant Sampson, in his primary bibliography of eighteenth century religious verse, lists 235 items, of which ten are by women - just 4.2%.¹⁰

The pricing of the volumes by these popular writers offers an insight into the range of readership:

C. Pricing of popular contemporary authors

Tupper	3s 6d; 7s; 7s 6d.
Alexander	2d; 6d; 1s; 3s 6d; 5s.
R.Montgomery	2s 6d; 4s; 5s; 5s 6d.
J.Montgomery	2s; 5s 6d
Keble	3s 6d; 5s; 6s; 7s 6d; 10s 6d; 21s; 25s.
Waring	6d; 1s 6d; 2s
Winkworth	1s; 5s;
Bonar	3s 6d; 5s.
Browne	2s 6d
Elliott	1s; 2s 6d.

On balance, it can be seen that the men's publications are aimed at a more affluent readership than those of the women, with only four of the latter's prices going above the average for Sunday reading volumes, 3s 5d. The fact that a number of Alexander's volumes are for children explains their predominantly lower pricing. The same factor is involved in the prices of Watts' and the Taylors' publications in the earlier periods:

D. Pricing of popular earlier authors

Milton	1s 6d; 3s 6d; 21s.
Watts	6d; 1s.
Cowper	2s 6d; 3s 6d;
Herbert	1s 3d; 2s 6d; 5s; 6s; 18s; 21s.
Taylors	1s 6d.

An analysis of the pricing of volumes in Appendix B shows that Sunday verse in the marketplace was a predominantly middle-class commodity, which nevertheless offered a range of cheaply priced volumes. The 530 priced items break down as follows in Table E, where Level 1 is considered to be within the range of the working class (though at its top end less likely to be so) and Levels 4 and 5 represent the upper-middle class and luxury end of the market. These cover prices could be discounted by 1d - 3d in the shilling.

E. Breakdown of prices (including separate issues of same title at different prices) of the items for which a price has been established.

(Where a price range is indicated, top and bottom figures are used)

Price	Number of items	Price	Number of items
Level 1		Level 3	
1d	14	3s 6d	57
2d	18	4s	18
3d	6	4s 6d	15
4d	4	5s	46
6d	35	5s 6d	6
8d	8	6s	12
9d	8		
10d	2		
1s	63		
<hr/>		<hr/>	
Level 2		Level 4	
1s 3d	3	6s 6d	2
1s 4d	5	7s	5
1s 6d	48	7s 6d	13
2s	31	8s	5
2s 6d	54	8s 6d	1
3s	18	10s	6
<hr/>		<hr/>	
		Level 5	
		10s 6d	9
		12s	3
		15s	1
		16s	1
		18s	2
		£1	1
		£1. 1s	7
		£1. 5s	2
		£1.11s	1
		<hr/>	

It can be seen that the most popular prices fall within the range 1s - 3s 6d, with the average price of all volumes in this survey at 3s 5d.

Table F records both the total items and priced publications produced by the most prolific publishers of religious verse:

F. Most prolific publishers and their price ranges

[Note: Left hand column total is for all volumes in Appendix B, priced or unpriced. It is reasonable to assume the range of prices is likely to be much the same in the unpriced volumes, which do not differ in kind.]

Right hand column in each price level includes same title offered at two or more prices, with separate entries for each price.

The Bell entries are for George Bell (later Bell & Daldy).]

(Total Items App. A)	Publisher	Price band 1										Total priced
		1d	2d	3d	4d	6d	8d	9d	10d	1s		
(39)	Masters	1	1	-	1	6	-	-	-	4	13	
(34)	Longman	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	3	5	
(33)	Nisbet	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	2	4	
(32)	Bell	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	2	6	
(28)	Parker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4	
(28)	Rivington	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	7	10	
(25)	Simpkin	-	-	3	-	2	1	-	-	4	10	
(22)	Wertheim	-	1	-	-	1	2	-	-	2	6	
(21)	Hatchard	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	2	
(21)	Nelson	1	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	2	6	
(18)	Hamilton	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	2	
(18)	Houlston	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	
(14)	Mozley	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	3	
(14)	Seeley	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	2	

(Total items App. B)	Publisher	Price band 2						Total priced
		1s3d	1s4d	1s6d	2s	2s6d	3s	
(39)	Masters	-	-	1	1	2	1	5
(34)	Longman	-	3	1	-	2	1	7
(33)	Nisbet	-	-	-	-	10	1	11
(32)	Bell	-	-	4	3	5	-	12
(28)	Parker	-	-	1	-	3	2	6
(28)	Rivington	1	-	1	4	-	-	6
(25)	Simpkin	-	-	4	-	5	3	12
(22)	Wertheim	-	-	6	1	-	1	8
(21)	Hatchard	-	-	-	2	1	-	3
(21)	Nelson	1	-	1	1	-	3	6
(18)	Hamilton	-	-	2	2	1	2	7
(18)	Houlston	-	-	3	-	-	-	3
(14)	Mozley	1	-	1	-	2	2	6
(14)	Seeley	-	-	1	1	-	-	2

(Total items App.£)	Publisher	Price band 3						Total priced
		3s6d	4s	4s6d	5s	5s6d	6s	
(39)	Masters	2	1	-	1	-	-	4
(34)	Longman	2	1	1	5	1	3	13
(33)	Nisbet	3	1	2	2	-	1	9
(32)	Bell	1	1	-	2	-	-	4
(28)	Parker	3	-	2	3	-	1	9
(28)	Rivington	2	3	-	1	-	-	6
(25)	Simpkin	3	-	-	1	-	-	4
(22)	Wertheim	1	1	1	1	-	-	4
(21)	Hatchard	1	2	-	7	-	-	10
(21)	Nelson	3	-	-	-	-	-	3
(18)	Hamilton	2	1	-	1	-	-	4
(18)	Houlston	2	-	-	1	-	-	3
(14)	Mozley	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
(14)	Seeley	3	-	1	1	-	-	5

(Total items App.£)	Publisher	Price band 4					Total priced
		6s6d	7s	7s6d	8s	10s	
(39)	Masters	-	-	-	-	-	-
(34)	Longman	-	-	2	-	-	2
(33)	Nisbet	-	-	-	-	-	-
(32)	Bell	-	-	3	-	-	3
(28)	Parker	-	-	2	-	1	3
(28)	Rivington	1	-	1	1	-	3
(25)	Simpkin	-	-	-	1	1	2
(22)	Wertheim	-	-	-	-	-	-
(21)	Hatchard	-	4	-	3	-	7
(21)	Nelson	-	-	-	-	-	-
(18)	Hamilton	-	-	1	-	-	1
(18)	Houlston	-	-	-	-	-	-
(14)	Mozley	-	-	-	-	-	-
(14)	Seeley	-	1	-	-	-	1

(Total items App.£)	Publisher	Price band 5						Total priced
		10s6d	12s	15s	16s	18s	21s	25s
(39)	Masters	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
(34)	Longman	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
(33)	Nisbet	1	-	-	-	2	-	-
(32)	Bell	1	-	-	-	-	2	-
(28)	Parker	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
(28)	Rivington	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
(25)	Simpkin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(22)	Wertheim	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(21)	Hatchard	-	-	1	-	-	1	-
(21)	Nelson	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(18)	Hamilton	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(18)	Houlston	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(14)	Mozley	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(14)	Seeley	-	1	-	-	-	-	-

What is interesting is that comparatively few of the volumes in Appendix B are published by subscription. Some were privately produced, but a charitable motive, with profits directed to a good cause, is at least in part responsible for the existence of some of these. A reputable publisher would undertake publication if the writer agreed to stand any loss incurred. Such was obviously the case with the Longman title, Genesis (1856), the work of Edward Howard, who 'purposely ignored' the theories of most contemporary geologists.¹¹ 100 copies were printed, to sell at 6s. By 1859, 21 copies had sold, and the ledger records that the rest were 'returned to author'.

Some writers or editors took on a further responsibility for selling. The Routledge archive contains an agreement between Edward Harland and the publisher, in a contract note dated November 3, 1857, relating to A Church Psalter and Hymnal:

It is agreed that Mr Harland shall use his best endeavours to promote the sale of the above work, - and that therefore Routledge shall pay him One Pound for every Thousand copies of the small size, and Four Pounds for every Thousand copies of the large size, that shall be sold after January 1. 1858 - and that they shall further, if required, supply him once year [sic] for the next Ten years with Hundred⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ copies of the small size, one thousand Handbills for circulation - which Mr Harland will circulate at his own expence. [sic]

Hymn books proliferate in this period, and, as this contract note seems to imply, provide publishers with a steady income, judging by the regularity of reprints, and the wide availability of different editions. In a note of copyright sale (22 February 1867), Routledge record the purchase from H.J. Tresidder, a small individual publisher, the rights to several of his Penny Hymn Book series. There appears to be no trace of any surviving copies of these titles (though item 114 in Appendix B is similar), but they reflect the range of supply at the bottom end of the market: Penny Congregational Hymn Book ; Penny

Watts's Hymn Book; Penny Wesley Hymn Book; Penny Hymn Book for the Chamber of Sickness. All these copyrights were purchased for £3. The Sunday School Hymn Book was purchased for £10 in 1868. Routledge similarly purchased The Church and Home Metrical Psalter and Hymnal from John Heaton, in this case for £100 (Sep 2, 1854).

In terms of figures, barely 13% of the volumes listed in Appendix B are identifiable by women. With over a quarter of the publications being anonymous or pseudonymous, this is likely to be a conservative estimate, as women published anonymously more frequently than men. A further factor to be taken into account here is the predominance of clerics writing such verse: an identifiable 25% (again, probably a conservative estimate). Thus, if the volumes by identified lay persons are separately assessed, women represent just over 17% of the total. As Table A shows, women did well in the marketplace, selling steadily during this period and beyond. Some female writers appear only fleetingly in Appendix B, but went on to sustained success, as did Marianne Farningham with her first volume, Lays and Lyrics (1860) (see Chapter 7 for details). Chapter 8 shows the success of Frances Havergal, who does not appear at all in Appendix B, her first volume being Ministry of Song in 1871.

Eliza Maskell and Anne Mozley were prolific in the 1840s, the former producing four different volumes of religious verse. Mozley's anthology, Church Poetry, first published in 1843, was in its fourth edition by 1855. Elizabeth Strafford's Hymns for the Collects (1857) went into a third impression in 1861. Jane Borthwick, co-editor and translator of Hymns from the Land of Luther (1854), under the pen-name H.L.L. was a regular editor of religious verse. Her Thoughts for Thoughtful Hours (1859) was incorporated into an extended volume,

Thoughtful Hours (1863), which was in its third enlarged edition by 1867. Elizabeth Charles's Three Wakings (1859) was another popular collection, in print until the end of the century, by which time the original collection had been absorbed into a new enlarged edition, Songs Old and New (1887, reprinted 1894).

An idea of the market proportion of Sunday verse can be seen in the following figures drawn from the Publishers' Circular for 1860. There are 4511 titles listed for the year (excluding American); of these publications, 58 appear in Appendix B as Sunday reading - 1.28%. (Compare this figure with the 102 items listed for 1860 in Appendix B: a measure of the limitations of a single source of statistics.) By 1881 there is a sharp decline in the proportion of Sunday verse publications, to 0.46%, 25 Sunday verse titles in relation to 5371 volumes published for the year; little more than one third of the 1860 proportion.

Although individual volumes thus represent only a small proportion of the total book sales, the availability of periodicals publishing pious verse must also be taken into account. Appendix A lists the predominantly pious periodicals, many of which were designed for a specific religious readership. Verse is frequently published in these periodicals, and they provide a platform for the humblest as well as the most successful writers. Charles Knight, using the listings in Mitchell's Newspaper Press Directory for 1863, remarked that there were 'four hundred and fifty-three Weekly and Monthly periodicals, and eighty-four Quarterly.' Of this total of 537, he records that 'a hundred and ninety-six are of a decidedly theological character.'¹² It will be seen from Appendix A that that is no doubt a conservative estimate, bearing in mind that the listing there includes only periodicals publishing verse, and many of the quarterlies did not

include verse.

It is the periodicals that reach the lower end of the market, by virtue of their cheapness. The following table of prices (Table G) shows the number of priced titles in Appendix A available for some time during the period 1850-1875, at the prices indicated. These are either the prices on first issue, or prices of available issues. Rises and falls of price on individual titles have not been included in this analysis. It must be emphasized that prices do fluctuate, and these figures are not to be accorded definitive status. The broad pattern is still representative. The survey covers 262 titles for which a price has been ascertained.

G: Range of periodical prices

	0.25d	1
(bulk purchase)	0.33d	2
	0.5d	38
	1d	105
	1.5d	9
	2d	36
	2.5d	1
	3d	16
	4d	13
	4.5d	1
	5d	3
	6d	28
	1s	7
	1s 6d	2

This shows a definite weighting to the cheaper end of the market, consistent with nineteenth century periodicals generally, 55.7% being 1d or less, and approaching 24% from 1.5d to 3d. The average price is under 2.5d on this sampling. The very high proportion of lower prices is greater than the distribution of prices at the lower end for all periodicals (see Eliot, table E4).¹³ As with individual volumes of verse, some publishers are more prominent in this field. Table H

itemizes the price ranges of those publishers with over 5 titles in Appendix A. It can be seen that several of these publishers also figure in Table F (see pp.406-407).

H. Price range of most prolific periodicals publishers in Appendix A

Publisher	Prices							
	0.5d	1d	1.5d	2d	3d	4d	6d	1s
Partridge	2	2	1	2	3	2	-	-
Houlston	3	2	-	5	-	-	2	1
Simpkin	3	2	-	2	1	-	1	1
Nelson	3	-	1	1	-	-	1	-
RTS	1	4	1	-	-	-	-	-
Seeley	2	6	-	-	-	-	-	-
SSU	2	2	-	3	-	-	-	-
Elliott Stock	1	2	-	2	-	-	-	1
Wertheim	-	3	1	-	1	-	-	-
Clarke	1	2	-	1	-	-	2	-
Nisbet	-	3	-	1	1	-	-	-

Because of their cheapness, periodicals usually had a much wider circulation than volumes of verse. Variety of content also contributes to this breadth of appeal. The most successful titles sold in excess of 100,000 copies an issue (Sunday at Home), and at the other end of the scale, less than 200 (Church of the People).

There are many problems attaching to circulation figures, not least the element of salesmanship involved in publishers' optimistic claims. Where information comes directly from such publicity in the periodicals themselves, or advertisements elsewhere in the press, due allowance should be made for exaggeration. A more reliable source is archival information, such as the RTS annual reports. Biographical and autobiographical accounts, particularly of editors' lives, may also be useful.

Stamp returns have traditionally been used as a more objective measure of sales, but these figures are still limited in usefulness. The abolition of the newspaper stamp tax in mid 1855 led to the stamp

becoming optional; a paper which bore the stamp could go through the post at no extra charge. Thus records are still available for stamp returns up to 1870, when the halfpenny post was introduced. Stamps are specifically for newspapers, and thus reflect a limited range of periodicals. Alvar Ellegard's The Readership of the Periodical Press in Mid-Victorian Britain (Goteborg, 1957) discusses the problems allied to determining readership on a basis of stamp returns, especially after 1855, and concludes that 'stamp returns are completely useless as an indication of total circulation in the case of the cheap press.' Against a general trend for the unstamped circulation to increase after 1855, Ellegard notes that publications with 'specialised appeal' do not noticeably increase their unstamped sales. He specifies 'religious periodicals', where 'the stamped edition seems regularly to have been considerably greater than the unstamped.'¹⁴

In his study, Ellegard includes some limited information from booksellers' sales figures for periodicals. He shows Good Words with a monthly sale in Leeds in May 1860 of 139 copies. The same title sold 1500 copies in Liverpool in 1862.¹⁵ These figures seem consistent with the global figure quoted here in Table J.

The following figures give some idea of the scale of sales (readership would obviously be reckoned as at least twice this number, and as Ellegard has argued, the cheaper the periodical, the greater the number of readers likely to have seen it). Information has in most cases been drawn from the publications themselves, and these figures, as suggested, should be viewed as sometimes optimistic estimates. In some cases, figures for stamp returns have been used, as well as Ellegard's useful survey; also advertisements in Mitchell's Newspaper Press Directory and other periodicals, Donald MacCleod's Memoir of

Norman MacCleod (1876), and the RTS archive.

J : Circulation of Religious Periodicals

(a=annual; m=monthly; w=weekly)

Title	Date	Circulation	Source
<u>Appeal</u>	1850	32,000 m	title
<u>Baptist Halfpenny Magazine</u>	1852	10,000 m	"
<u>Bible Class Magazine</u>	1849	20,000 m	title
	1866	highest yet	"
<u>British Banner</u>	1851	196,900 a	stamp
	1852	193,375 a	returns
	1853	202,205 a	"
	1854	158,807 a	"
	1855	137,159 a	"
	1856	67,500 a	"
	1857	24,000 a	"
<u>Bulwark</u>	1851	30,000 m	title
<u>Child's Friend</u>	1866	21,000 m	"
<u>Christian Annotator</u>	1854	7,500 a	stamps
<u>Christian Miscellany</u>	1857	40,000 m	title
	1860	60,000 m	"
<u>Christian Observer</u>	1860	1,000 m	Ellegard
<u>Christian Times</u>	1850	94,000 a	stamps
	1854	64,042 a	"
	1855	45,829 a	"
	1856	27,945 a	"
	1857	30,000 a	"
<u>Christian Treasury</u>	1857	22,000 m	title
<u>Christian World</u>	1867	100,000 w	"
<u>Christian World Pulpit</u>	1871	25,000 m	"
<u>Church</u>	1849	18,000 m	advert.
<u>Church of the People</u>	1854	1,600 a	stamps
<u>Churchman's Magazine</u>	1853	2,000 m	title
<u>Churchman's Monthly Penny Magazine</u>	1852	70-80,000 m	"
<u>Cottager</u>	1861	50,000 m	Hewitt
<u>Early Days</u>	1850	55,000 m	title
<u>Evangelical Christendom</u>	1854	13,000 a	stamps
<u>Evangelical Magazine</u>	1856	9,500 m	advert.
<u>Family Friend</u>	1850	80,000 m	title
<u>Friend</u>	1860	1,500 m	Ellegard
	1870	2,000 m	"
<u>Friends' Quarterly Examiner</u>	1870	2,000 m	"
<u>Good Words</u>	1863	110,000 m	McCleod
<u>Gospel Magazine</u>	1850	1,500 a	stamps
<u>Gospel Standard</u>	1854	2,650 a	"
<u>Guardian</u>	1850	187,825 a	"
<u>Methodist Recorder</u>	1870	25-30,000 w	Mitchell
<u>Month</u>	1865	2,000 m	Ellegard

<u>Nonconformist</u>	1856	22,300	a	stamps
<u>Ragged School Union Magazine</u>	1849	60,000	m	title
<u>Sunday at Home</u>	1854	10,500	a*	stamps
	1865	130,000	m	RTS
<u>Sunday School Penny Magazine</u>	1853	6,000	m	title
<u>Universe</u>	1860	3,000	m	title
	1865	10,000	m	Ellegard
	1870	20,000	m	"
<u>Wesleyan Times</u>	1850	209,000	a	stamps

*(8 months only)

During the 1850s, the figures in table J suggest that there were around 3.5 million readers of these periodicals, assuming that at least two readers saw each copy. Some of these readers would read more than one title, but the majority were unlikely to read more than two titles, in view of the sectarian nature of many of these publications. Patrick Scott has demonstrated the tendency to title loyalty, and social and religious identification through allegiance to a particular periodical.¹⁶ Anecdotal evidence drawn on elsewhere in this study supports such a limitation on breadth of periodical reading. In view of the fact that the items in Table J represent only a small proportion of the periodicals in Appendix A (13.7%), it would not seem unreasonable to adduce a readership of religious periodicals at around twice the above figure, seven million. This allows for the fact that the same reader may be registered in the circulation figures of two periodicals, and also assumes that the circulation figures not available are less impressive than those that are publicized. A further qualification, noted elsewhere in this study, is the fact that much Sunday reading material was designed for free distribution. Such material may not always be read. A readership of this size should be seen in relation to the population of England and Wales in 1851, at under 18 million. The comparatively small corner of the book market filled by Sunday verse volumes is thus greatly extended when the scale

of periodical readership is taken into account.

Recent research has established that the proportion of religious book titles, as classified in the Bookseller, fell from 22.5% in 1860 to 15.3% of the total book market in 1875 (Eliot). Figures for the same period from Mitchell's Press Directory show religious periodicals with 38.1% of the periodicals market in 1860 (P. Scott) and 37% in 1875 (Eliot).¹⁷ Thus the periodicals market maintains its significance throughout this period as a disseminator of Sunday verse.

NOTES TO APPENDIX C, pp.394-416

1. Unpublished MS letter to C. Reader, 8 March 1842. Original in Longman archive.
2. Evangelical Magazine (July 1854), 392.
3. Notes on Books (February 1855), 6.
4. Notes on Books (February 1859), 260.
5. See specimen agreement forms in Longman archive.
6. Notes on Books (November 1855), 34.
7. Occasional Papers and Reviews (1877), fn g, pp. viii-ix.
8. See Derek Hudson, Martin Tupper: His Rise and Fall (1949), p.40.
9. Letter quoted in Hudson, p.42.
10. See H. Grant Sampson, The Anglican Tradition in Eighteenth Century Verse (The Hague, 1971)
11. Notes on Books (October 1856), p.104.
12. Passages of a Working Life (1864), III, 178.
13. S.J. Eliot, Some Patterns and Trends in British Publishing 1800-1914 (London, 1992), p.115.
14. Alvar Ellegard, The Readership of the Periodical Press in Mid-Victorian Britain (Goteburg, 1957), pp. 7, 8.
15. Ibid., p.12, Table 3; p.13, Table 4.
16. Patrick Scott, 'Richard Cope Morgan, Religious Periodicals, and the Pontifex Factor', Victorian Periodicals Newsletter, 16 (June, 1972), 1-14.
17. See Eliot, pp.98, 115, and Scott, 'Victorian Religious Periodicals: Fragments that Remain', in The Materials, Sources and Methods of Ecclesiastical History ed. Derek Baker (New York, 1975), p.339.

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VII: INDEX

INDEX

(To names and titles in the main text and Appendix C)

- Adams, H.G., New Testament Verses, 68
- Alexander, C.F., 136, 151, 192, 205-6, 402, 403, 404
 'All Things Bright and Beautiful', 70
 'The Ark a Type', 214-15
 'Communion Hymn', 74
 'Hymn for Advent', 'Hymn for Easter', 74
Hymns for Little Children, 91, 132-33, 149-50, 238-39
Poems on Subjects in the Old Testament, 5
- Alexander, Stuart, Life's Phantoms, 72
- Alexander, William, 205
- Allingham, Helen Maria, 216, 230-31, 237, 246, 247
- Alphabet of Animals, 137
- Amelia (Dr Fletcher's Juvenile Magazine), 217-18, 226, 230
- Annie (Church of England Sunday Scholar's Magazine), 238
- Appeal, 414
- Argyll, Bishop, 398, 399
- Arnold, Matthew, 8, 134, 216
- Ashton Cottage, 40
- Baptist Halfpenny Magazine, 414
- Baptist Messenger, 160
- Baptist Times, 171
- Baptist Youth's Magazine, 31
- Bardsley, C.W., 136-37
- Barnes, W., Selection of Psalms and Hymns, 92
- Bassett, Matilda, Bible Gleanings, 68-9
- Bateman, Christian Henry, 125-26
Children's Hymn Book, 126
- Bayne, Peter, 33
- Baynes, R.H., 42, 86, 96, 236
Lyra Anglicana, 74, 85
- Bell (Publisher), 406-7
- Bible Class Magazine, 104, 124-28, 141, 145, 414
- Bonar, Andrew, 114
- Bonar, Horatius, 74, 169, 231, 235, 402, 403
- Book of Psalms Translated into English Verse, 59
- Bookseller, 416
- Borthwick, Jane, 235, 236
Hymns from the Land of Luther (H.L.L.), 409
Thoughtful Hours, 410
Thoughts for Thoughtful Hours, 72-3, 409
- Bouchier, Barton, 84
Solace in Sickness and Sorrow, 77
- Bowring, E.A., The Most Holy Book of Psalms Literally Rendered into English Verse, 59
- Bowring, John, 43, 44, 55
- Bridges, Matthew, 5, 226
The Passion of Jesus, 74
- British Banner, 30, 46, 414
- British Controversialist, 14
- British Herald, 167
- Browne, Jane Euphemia, 189, 402, 403
The Dove on the Cross, 187-88, 250-51
- Browning, Elizabeth Barrett, 105, 119
- Browning, Robert, 212, 213, 232
 'Andrea del Sarto', 119
- Bulwark, 414
- C, C., Sunday Alphabet, 140
- C, J., 'A Sabbath Song', 218
- Calvert, W., Pneuma, 397
- Cambridge, Ada, 74, 236
- Cambridge Free Public Library, 124
- Carey, Phoebe, 119
- Cassell (Publisher) 42
- Chapman, W., 218, 224
Teetotal Hymns, 92
- Charles, Elizabeth, Songs Old and New, Three Wakings, 410
- Charlton, W.H., 59, Sonnets Sacred and Miscellaneous, 68
- Child and the Angel, The, 72
- Child's Companion, 37, 160
- Child's Friend, 414
- Child's Own Magazine, 145-46, 162
- Children's Treasure, 127
- Christian Advocate and Review, 52
- Christian Annotator, 414
- Christian Cabinet, 160
- Christian Freeman, 107
- Christian Miscellany, 105, 414
- Christian Observer, 414
- Christian Remembrancer Pocket-Book, 199
- Christian Times, 414
- Christian Treasury, 141, 414
- Christian World, 155, 158, 160-63, 166-69, 180, 191, 414
- Christian World Magazine, 33
- Christian World Pulpit, 414
- Christian Year, see Keble

- Christian's Monthly Penny Magazine,
 106-7
Church, 414
Church and Home Metrical Psalter,
 409
Church Hymn Book, 92
Church Hymnary, 193
Church of England Sunday Scholar's
Magazine, 238
Church of the People, 412, 414
Churchman, 68
Churchman's Magazine, 414
Churchman's Monthly Penny Magazine,
 105, 414
 Clarke, J.E., 20
 Clarke, James & Co (Publisher),
 167, 412
 Colenso, Bishop, 19
Collection of Hymns and Poetry,
Original and Selected, 84
Collection of Hymns for the Use of
People Called Methodists, 91
 Collins, John, The Fall of Man,
 397
Cottager, 414
 Cowper, William, 20, 105, 119, 234,
 402, 404
 Darling, Thomas, Hymns for the Church
of England, 401
 Davis, Thomas, Devotional Verse for a
Month, 4, 241
Songs for the Suffering, 51, 54,
 91
 Day & Son (Publisher), 140
 Dennis, John, 4
 Dewhurst, Jane, The Sabbath and Other
Poems, 77
 Dickens, Charles, Little Dorrit, 41
 Dickinson, Grace, 123
 Dobell, Sydney, 169
 Donne, John, 53
 Doudney, Sarah, Psalms of Life, 236
Dr Fletcher's Juvenile Magazine, 217
 Duncan, Mary, 'Jesus, Tender Shepherd', 146
 Dunn, Henry, 105
Early Days, 414
Eclectic Review, 88
 Edmeston, James, 'Lead Us Heavenly
 Father, Lead Us', 165
 Eliot, George, 18, 22
Life of Jesus, 63
 Elliott Stock (Publisher), 412
 Elliott, Charlotte, 192, 198-202, 206,
 402, 403
Hours of Sorrow, 165, 199
Invalid's Hymn Book, 165
 'Just as I Am', 165, 166
 Ellis, Mrs Henry, 231
English Catalogue, 401
Evangelical Christendom, 414
Evangelical Magazine, 395, 414
 Evans, R.W., Daily Hymns, 219
 Ewart's Public Libraries Act, 19
 Exton, Richard Brudenell, 56
 Fairbairn, Patrick, 19
Family Friend, 414
Family Sunday Book, 46
Family Treasury of Sunday Reading, 46
 Farningham, Marianne (Hearn), 6, 8, 36,
 71, 134, 135, 151, 155-181, 185, 190,
 191, 192, 197, 200, 205, 214
Lays and Lyrics, 74-5, 170, 172-79,
 409
Working Woman's Life, 155-181
 Farquhar, B.L., 36, 40, 212, 233
 Farr, Edward, 53
 Fearn, Mrs Joseph, Plain Rhymes for
Plain People, 137
 Fidelis, 186
 Flesher, John, New and Enlarged Hymn
Book for Methodists, 95
 Ford, C.L., 74
 Ford, James, 53
Prayer-Book Rhymes, 66-7
Steps to the Sanctuary, 67-8
 Forster Education Act, 16, 19, 20
 Fosbery, T.V., Hymns and Poems, 400-01
 Frame, Robert, 70
Friend, 414
Friend's Quarterly Examiner, 414
 Fry, Caroline, Sunday Afternoons at
Home, 41
 Fyvie, Isabella (Mayo), 37
 G, H., 238
 G, J., 102
 Gall & Inglis (Publisher), 142
 Giberne, Agnes, Sunday Afternoons with
Mamma, 43
Good Words, 191, 413, 414
Gospel Herald, 160
Gospel Magazine, 414
 Gosse, Philip, Omphalos, 19
 Gough, Benjamin, 238
Lyra Sabbatica, 237
 Gould, Hannah F., 119
 Gray, Rev. W., 44
 Greenwell, Dora, 225-26, 231
 Greg, W.R., 189
Guardian, 414
 Hall, W.J., Psalms and Hymns Adapted to
the Services of the Church of
England, 96
 Hamilton (Publisher), 406-7
 Harland, Edward, Church Psalter and

- Hymnal, 408
 Hatchard (Publisher), 406-7
 Hathaway, Timothy, Gospel Melodies, 63-4
 Havergal, Frances Ridley, 133, 190, 191, 192, 202-207, 237
 Ministry of Song, 204, 409
 Poetical Works, 202
 Under the Surface, 132
 Havergal, W.H., 202
 Heaton, John (Publisher), 409
 Heber, Bishop, 164
 Hemans, Felicia, 157-58, 164, 180
 Herbert, George, 2, 53, 54, 105, 119, 227, 247, 248, 402, 404
 'Church Porch', 120
 Herbert, Henry, 142
 Hewett, John, 220
 Hogg, Henry, 57
 Songs for the Times, 55
 Hopkins, Gerard Manley, 108, 247
 Houlston (Publisher), 406-7, 412
 Howard, Edward, Genesis, 408
Hymns Ancient and Modern, 86, 91
Hymns and Anthems Adjusted to the Church Services Throughout the Year, 58
Hymns for Private Use in Large Type, 91
Hymns for the Services of the Church, 92
Illustrated Book of Sacred Poems, 42
Illustrated London News, 28, 34
In Memoriam, see Tennyson
 Ingelow, Jean, 190
Invalid's Hymn Book, 72, 165, 199
Irish Presbyterian Sabbath School Teacher, 167
 James, John Angell, 186, 207
 Jane Eyre, 160
 Johnson, Samuel, 3, 4, 57, 58, 241
 Johnstone, John, 52
 Jones, Owen, 140
 Judson, Dr, 136
 Dr Judson's Verses for Little Children, 143-44
 Keble, John, 5, 22, 23, 32, 58, 121, 402, 403
 Christian Year, 33, 57, 87-8, 90, 197, 401-02
 Lyra Innocentium, 133
 Occasional Papers and Reviews, 401
 Kelty, M.A., 72
 Ken, Bishop, 47, 143
 Kiernan, Harriet, 199
 Kingsley, Charles, 216
 Kirtlands, C.E., 126
 Kitto, Rev Dr, 35
 Knight, Charles, 410
Lamp of Love, 147
Leisure Hour, 111
 Lewis, Mary, 'Death to the Christian', 114-16
Light in Life's Shadows, 73
 Linton, Eliza, 187
Liturgical Hymns, 94
Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper, 30, 31, 32
Local Preachers' Magazine, 103
 Longman (Publisher), 394-401, 406-7
 Loxley, J., 'The Heartsease', 133-34
 Lynch, Thomas Toke, 90
 The Rivulet, 88-9
 Lyte, H.F., 164
 McCombie, William, Beauties of Modern Sacred Poetry, 75-6
 Mackay, Margaret, Thoughts Redeemed, 72
 Macleod, Donald, Memoir of Norman Macleod, 413
 Macmillan (Publisher), 38
 Malan, Cesar, 198
 Mann, Horace, 17
 Martin, James, The Biblical Lyre, 61, 62
 Maskell, Eliza, 409
 Masson, David, 22
 Masters (Publisher), 406-7
 Maynard, Julia, 64-66
 Mayo, Isabella Fyvie, 190
Methodist Hymn Book, 165
Methodist Recorder, 414
 Mill, John Stuart, 22
 Miller, John, 105
 Milman, Henry Hart, 241
 Milton, John, 216, 402, 404
 Mitchell, Newspaper Press Directory, 410, 413, 416
 Monsell, J.S.B., Spiritual Songs, 400-01
 Montgomery, James, 169, 394-97, 402, 403
 Christian Psalmist, 96
 Original Hymns, 397
 Poetical Works, 395-97
 4 vols, 396, 1 vol, 397
 Montgomery, John, 27
 Montgomery, Robert, 402, 403
 Month, 414
Morning Advertiser, 88
 Mozley (Publisher), 406-7
 Mozley, Anne, Church Poetry, 409
My Sunday Friend, 147
 Nelson (Publisher), 38, 406-7, 412
 Nettleton, Dr, 114, 116
New Hymn Book, 91
 Newman, Francis William, Phases of Faith, 3
 Newman, John Henry, 3, 17, 216
News of the World, 30
 Nisbet (Publisher), 406-7, 412

- Nodder, E.M., Gleanings for the Humble, 77
- Noel, Baptist Wriothesley, 95, 169
- Nonconformist, 415
- Northampton Herald, 165, 180
- Northampton Mercury, 180
- Northants Sunday School Union, 165
- Notes on Books, 395
- Oliphant, Margaret, 37
- Sundays, 41
- P, C., 62-3
- Page, James, 45
- Paley, Natural Theology, 18
- Palmer, Ebenezer, Tendrils of Verse, 216
- Palmer, Roundell, Book of Praise, 96, 228
- Parish Magazine, 20
- Parker (Publisher), 401, 406-7
- Parochial Magazine Association, 124
- Parry, Charles H.H., 164
- Partridge (Publisher), 412
- Patmore, Coventry, Angel in the House, 187
- Peace, William, The Christian Conflict, 74
- Pember, Edward Henry, Job, 397
- Penny Hymn Book Series, 408-9
- Penny Post, 233
- Pierpoint, F.S., 'The Chalice of Nature', 71
- Piggott, S.R., 52
- Pilgrim's Progress, 37, 108, 127
- Potts, Anna, Simple Poems for National and Sunday Schools, 248
- Priestley, Joseph, 18
- Primitive Methodist Children's Magazine, 35
- Punshon, W. Morley, 228
- Sabbath Chimes, 234
- Pusey, Edward, 401
- Quarles, Francis, 54, 119, 120
- Quinton, John Allan, 130
- R, C., The Sunday Alphabet, 140
- Raffles, Thomas, Hymns Selected and Alphabetically Arranged, 93
- Ragged School Union Magazine, 415
- Reader, Charles, 394
- Religious Tract Society, 34, 43, 109-12, 146, 412, 414
- Richings, Benjamin, Flowers of Sacred Poetry, 73
- Ritchie, John, The Crucifixion, 64
- Rivington (Publisher), 406-7
- Roberts, Ellen, 123, 248
- Robertson, F.W., 192
- Rosebud, The, 53
- Rossetti, Christina, 187, 236
- Routledge (Publisher), 401, 408
- Rushton, Adam, 78, 229
- Ruskin, John, 187, 216
- Russell, G.W.E., 84, 103
- Rutherford, Mark, 34
- Ryle, J.C., Hymns for the Church on Earth, 6-7
- Sabbath School Messenger, 162
- Sacred Gems Ancient and Modern, 76
- Sailors' Magazine, 157
- Seeley (Publisher), 406-7, 412
- Sellon, Caroline, 236
- Shakespeare, 160
- Shorthouse, J.P., 56
- Simpkin (Publisher), 406-7, 412
- Smiles, Samuel, 22
- Smith and Elder (Publisher), 61
- Smith, Isaac, Hymn Book for the Services of the Church, 86, 94-5
- Smith, Mary, Autobiography, 83
- Spedding, James, 120
- Spencer, Herbert, 234
- Sperling, John H., Village Hymnal, 92
- Stebbing, Henry, Jesus, 63-4
- Strafford, Elizabeth, 225
- Hymns for the Collects, 409
- Strauss, D.F., 18
- Life of Jesus, 63
- Stretton, Hesba, Jessica's First Prayer, 112
- Sunday at Home, 34, 35, 43, 54, 103, 104, 109-24, 127, 227, 248, 412, 415
- Sunday Friend, 46
- Sunday Library for Household Reading, 38
- Sunday Magazine, 104, 225, 239
- Sunday Morning, 105
- Sunday Reader, 105
- Sunday Reading for Christian Families, 35, 46
- Sunday Scholar's Budget of Good Stories, 147
- Sunday School Hymn Book, 409
- Sunday School Penny Magazine, 415
- Sunday School Times, 162-3, 167, 169-72
- Sunday School Union, 124, 142, 146, 159
- Sunshine, 147
- Swinburne, Algernon Charles, 216
- Talbot, Mary S., 193
- Taylor, Ann and Jane, 151, 402, 404
- Taylor, Jane, 156
- 'The Star', 139
- Tennyson, Alfred, Lord, 2, 22, 53, 54, 120, 121, 216, 250
- 'Crossing the Bar', 164
- In Memoriam, 71, 105-6, 113, 119
- 'The Poet's Song', 51

- Times, 155, 172
Toplady, Augustus, 164
Treasury, The, 168
Trench, R.C., 119
Tresidder, H.J. (Publisher), 408
Tucker, Charlotte Maria (A.L.O.E.), 38
 Hymns and Poems, 220
 'Social Hymn', 249
Tupper, Martin F., 169, 250, 402, 403
 Half-a Dozen No-Popery Ballads,
 73
 Proverbial Philosophy, 403
Twelve Sabbath School Reward Cards,
 142
Universe, 415
Waring, Anna Letitia, 74, 192,
 193-98, 202, 206, 247, 402, 403
 Additional Hymns, 193
 Hymns and Meditations, 7, 85
Watson, William Henry, 124
Watts, Isaac, 20, 90, 93, 137, 151,
 156, 159, 402, 404
Wells, Samuel, 35
Wertheim (Publisher), 406-7, 412
Wesley, Charles, 20, 193, 250
Wesleyan Times, 415
White, Hugh, 72
Whittmore, Jonathan, 160
Whittier, J.G., 169
Wilberforce, Bishop, Agathos, 37
Willis, N.P., 119
Wilmott, Robert Aris (ed.),
 English Sacred Poetry, 401
Winchilsea, Earl of, Poem of the Book
 of Job, 60
Winks, J.F., 31
Winkworth, Catherine, 402-3
 Lyra Germanica, 398-400
Wiseman, Archbishop, 17
Wither, George, 119
Wordsworth, William, 105, 119, 213,
 232
Yonge, Charlotte M., 39
 Heartsease, 27
Younger, John, 135
Youth's Magazine, 37